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THE CHURCH IN
MODERN ENGLAND

THE CHURCH IN MODERN ENGLAND

A STUDY OF THE PLACE IN CHRISTENDOM
AND THE DISTINCTIVE MISSION TO THE
WORLD OF THE ANGLICAN COMMUNION

BY

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"THE FUTURE LIFE AND MODERN DIFFICULTIES"

"She (the Church of France) may establish a different worship, discipline, etc., in some points continue to differ from us in doctrine too, and yet maintain a true communion with us, so long as there is nothing either in her worship or ours to hinder the members of each Church to communicate with the other, as they have opportunity."

—WILLIAM WAKE, Archbishop of Canterbury, 1718.

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Preface

SOME of the matter in this book has already appeared in *Pax*, the quarterly magazine of the English Benedictines of Caldey Island, and by arrangement made with them is now appearing in book form. It has, however, been re-arranged and a considerable amount of new matter incorporated with it. I do not ask or even want my readers to agree with everything I have to say, though I do hope that everyone will agree with such truisms as—

- (1) That before men congratulate themselves and each other on past events, it is well to make sure that these events are matter for congratulation: that is, whether on the whole (no movement of human progress has ever been free from set backs) the events make for some definite end worthy of being called an achievement.
- (2) That the Church in Modern England does not stand alone, but holds communion with no mean array of sister and daughter churches in various parts of the world: and, as no fact is without significance, that the fact must have some bearing on the future, not of the English-speaking races only, but of the whole human race.

- (3) That events have occurred within the Church in Modern England which are commonly denoted by the terms "Oxford Movement" and "Catholic Revival," and that these effects must qualify the significance for mankind of the Anglican expansion.

I therefore venture further to ask my readers to agree that it is well to consider towards what achievement the Anglican Expansion seems to be making, as a satisfactory answer to the question will at least give a point and definition to our rejoicings at the fact, that would otherwise be lacking : unless it be all-sufficing that we are Anglicans and therefore that the Anglican Expansion is "a gloat for us." But would not this be sectarianism in all its naked hideosity ?

I think it may also be generally admitted that there is a feeling abroad that for some reason or other the Church in England, with her sisters and children, is hindered and that the advance is checked. Whether in fact progress is hindered by some grave defect may be a matter for diverse opinion, but so long as the opinion is held, the matter is one to be inquired, into.

In these circumstances there may be some use in the question : "Quo Vadis ?" being raised by one with whom the generality of readers will not see eye to eye, especially if, as I venture to think is the case, our great handicap is the party system. I have the more hope of this for the fact that I have nothing to say against the diversities of temperament in one fold, but only deplore that the advantages

of mutual influence and correction of balance which should result from the beneficent inclusion of diverse temperaments is lost by the thing that I hate, their crystallization into set parties. Also because no defect is without its qualities, and the party system has at least taught Englishmen to take sides without personal animus.

Matters which seem germane to the subject, but which are interruptions to the continuity of discussion, are appended as notes at the end of the several chapters to the subject matter of which they seem most closely related. I have to thank the Bishop of Birmingham for his kind encouragement, and for the help I have derived in the last two chapters from his "New Theology and Old Religion." I do not in the least claim his agreement for all I have to say, indeed in one matter I have dared definitely to disagree with him.

F. CLAUDE KEMPSON.

DEAN VICARAGE,
KIMBOLTON,
Easter tide, 1908.



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“THERE IS A TIDE IN THE AFFAIRS OF MEN,
WHICH, TAKEN AT THE FLOOD, LEADS ON TO FORTUNE ;
OMITTED, ALL THE VOYAGE OF THEIR LIFE
IS BOUND IN SHALLOWS, AND IN MISERIES.
ON SUCH A FULL SEA ARE WE NOW AFLOAT.”

—“ Julius Caesar,” Act IV, Scene 3.

The Church in Modern England

CHAPTER I

PROLEGOMENA

THE whole of human history is the record of a conquest, intermittent and fitful perhaps, and certainly unfinished, but still a conquest over nature. The whole history of animated nature, as we now see it through Darwinian spectacles, is one of a struggle for existence in which the race is not necessarily to the swiftest and strongest, but to those forms which can adapt themselves best to their environment. But the emergence of man marks a new departure, for man has the world for his environment, and sets himself to conquer it, that is, to adapt his environment to himself; an adaptation which has already succeeded in completely altering the appearance of the surface of the globe. That "God

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made the country while man made the town " is a trite saying, but it is not true ; for the whole landscape in a cultivated country is what it is by reason of man's handiwork. Crops and sward, woodland and hedgerow timber are where they are by man's will, and no factory chimney or furnace fire or mean street is a more man-made thing than is a hedge. Even the very contours of hill and valley which make the outline of a landscape are modified by cottage roofs and the thatch in stackyards and man-planted trees against the skyline, if not by the towers and spires of castles and churches. Moreover the day is not far off when virgin soil will be as extinct as the bison of the American prairie, and even the waste places of rock and sand and ice may be turned to some economic use.

But while man is restrained by no scruple from employing any means which seem calculated to the subjection of his environment to himself,¹ he does submit to a system

¹ Even when man deliberately leaves a piece of nature alone, as by forming game reserves like the Yellowstone Park, or even saving Wicken as a relic of the undrained fen, he does so because he feels that it is good for man to preserve these nature treasures, just as he preserves the art treasures of civilization.

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of "Tabu," or things forbidden, like the tree of knowledge, because they do not become a man whose relationships and environment are not altogether of this visible world. This human self-restraint does not spring altogether from fear, the apprehension of retaliation by the powers unseen, but also in part at least from a sense that any breach of right relationship with the unseen and the lack of a certain restraint and mutual respect in the dealing of man with man, which is the corollary of man's relation with the unseen, is a degradation of self.

This is none the less true for the fact that the specific things which it is uncomely for a man to do, or the tariff of "Tabu" if we may so express it, has varied with the diversities of times and the extent to which man has reasoned out his belief in his relationship to the things which are unseen and eternal as well as to those which are seen and temporal. Among savages the tariff of "Tabu" is a long, complicated and arbitrary list of prohibitions: as man advances in wisdom the tariff becomes a more reasonable and consistent code of morals, until at last it is realized that all the Law and the Prophets hang upon one great principle, "Thou shalt love the Lord thy

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God with all thy heart, and with all thy mind, and with all thy soul, and with all thy strength," and the necessary corollary of that principle, "Thou shalt love thy neighbour as thyself."

The connection between man's ceaseless and remorseless warfare with the forces of nature and the scruple which restrains him in the use of his power is that the subjection of the flesh to the spirit is indissolubly connected with the warfare with nature ; the conquest of nature external to human personality cannot be dissociated from nature internal to it.

But man is an inveterate questioner as well as a conqueror, and so he asks from time to time, "Why conquer nature, and subdue the flesh to the spirit?" "What profit hath a man of all his labour that he taketh under the sun?" "Is it not all vanity and vexation of spirit?" He may think that perhaps the great and jolly nation of the Do-as-you-likes, that Tom, the Water-baby, found in Madam How's picture book, possessed the true philosophy of life, when they lay down under the flapdoodle trees and let the flapdoodle trickle into their mouths, and were content to eat roast meat only when the

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little pigs that went about ready roasted ran up against them and they could take a bite without effort. Or if man must have some excitement with which to kill time, is not he the wise man who goes round the world with Pantagruel, and gibes at everything he sees? And if man in the process degenerate into an orang-outang, what matter? It is a comfortable process, for in a world where all is vanity nothing is either noble or ignoble, and he does best whose life is the most free from vexation of spirit; and abstention from effort and worry is the way to become an orang-outang.

The answer to this ultimate question: "What's the good of anything?" is that it is good to be a man who is a conqueror and a questioner, and to endure the inevitable vexation of spirit inseparable from conquest and questioning, because man has a destiny which can be only attained by conquest and questioning, that is by working and thinking; a destiny that is none the less precious for the fact that "it doth not yet appear what we shall be, though we know that we shall be like Him, for we shall see Him as He is." (1 St. John iii. 2.)

Man, however, has by no means done with

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his questionings when he has found the answer to the ultimate question, for no sooner has he learned his objective than he must turn himself into a committee of ways and means. For not only must man strive after his destiny by action, but also, being that he is a rational animal, by thought. He must, by the effort of his rational soul, adapt his actions to his end ; in the language of the mechanic, he must set out his own work. Otherwise he will dissipate his energies in purposeless fuss and will ultimately find that the fruit of his vexation of spirit is vanity.

The truth contained in the pessimism of "The Preacher" is that the things of this physical visible universe, as regarded in themselves, *are* vanity, for the fashion of this world passeth away : they are as futile as the coloured beads strung upon wire and framed in wood which are found in infant schools, and as ephemeral as the papers of a candidate, which are never published, but, when the examination is over, are cast into the fire and burned. But they (both beads and examination papers) leave their effects behind them, for they are the exercises by which character is developed in man, and the

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tests by which it is tried: they have the inherent futility and yet the permanent results, for good or for evil, of the lessons and games of a school.

But one thing must never be forgotten, though sometimes it seems to be, and that is that man cannot attain salvation only by obeying the negative commandments or conforming to the rules of "Tabu," he must take his active part in the conquest of nature. If we may take up again Kingsley's parable of the Do-as-you-likes, and take with it the ecclesiastical rule of Friday abstinence as the representative emblem of the negative commandments, then the Do-as-you-likes would escape their damnation of degenerating into orang-outangs did they refrain from taking bites out of such ready-roast pigs as should chance to run up against their mouths on Fridays, contenting themselves for the nonce with flapdoodle! In other language, salvation would be the sure reward of the negative virtue of respectability. But this will not do. There is no escape for the Do-as-you-likes, even if they only do as they like within the limits of "Tabu," as they do not get up and work. It is for this reason that David, adulterer and murderer though he was, was

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yet "a man after God's own heart." He did give himself chivalrously to his task, and when he realized how his transgression stultified his work, and therefore the attainment of his end, he had a motive for honest and thorough repentance. Yet again, no man liveth to himself alone, but all are members one of another ¹—a truth more clearly realized than was the case in recent generations. And if there must be co-operative taking thought for that we shall eat and that we shall drink and wherewith we shall be clothed, much more must it direct and discipline the quest of the Kingdom of God, with a direction and discipline which must tell men what they are to do, and not only what they are not to do.

¹ This truth is the motive of the aspiration of modern Socialism, which desires a more equal distribution of the stress of man's conflict with nature: so far Socialism is good and will bear good fruit. Whether the stress is as unequally divided as is asserted is another matter, and whether, if it is, Socialist economics, a mere question of ways and means, would remedy the evil, are matters on which there must be difference of opinion, and the fruit of the Socialist aspiration may or may not be the kind of fruit which Socialists expect. But the spirit of fraternity which demands a fairer distribution of the stress of life must bear fruit of good quality, be the species what it may.

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It is a noteworthy fact that it is the positive command to every man to honour his father and his mother, that is to take his place in the domestic hierarchy, which is the microcosm of human life, which is "the first commandment *with promise.*"

CHAPTER II

QUO VADIS ?

FROM the riddle of man's destiny to the internal affairs of the Church of England, with its party strifes and lawsuits about such miserable matters as "clergymen's clothes," may seem a far cry, even though, through the expansion of the English-speaking race and the great part which it is taking in man's conquest of the world, the Church of England has grown into an Anglo-Saxon Christendom. But it only seems so.

All effort, all questioning, and all the sore travail involved in being exercised therewith, are contributory to man's great endeavour to find himself and attain his destiny. It would not therefore be correct to say that they are inextricably mixed up with religion, they are its proper material. The word "religion," be it remembered, does not mean belief,¹ but a practical attitude to life, that is to God and neighbour, based on belief ; and so a religion is not a Creed, but the religious exercises

¹ Cf. "The Future Life," Chap. I, p. 8, where this matter is dealt with at some length.

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or ascetics (*ἀσκησις*) based thereon. For example the Mohammedan religion is not the belief that "Allah is great and that Mahomet is his prophet" ; the religion is obedience to the *Muezzin's* call to prayer, the *Haj*, or pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, and the *Jehad*, or Holy War for the extermination of the infidel. Christianity again is neither the Nicene Creed nor the "New Theology," but practice consequent on the one or the other ; on the latter a great admiration for Jesus of Nazareth as an ethical teacher, and a Stoic ¹ practice of virtue, and on the former the effort of prayer, or uplifting of the soul to God and to His hosts, in the spirit of love and penitence,² and in dependence on the Atoning Sacrifice, and on that vitality of God Incarnate which we call "Grace," which comes to us through sacramental channels.

But our examples have not only served to show that religion is practice based on belief,

¹ Stoic not necessarily in a dour endurance of evil and indifference to pleasure, but in the assumption that virtue is attainable by the natural man, an assumption which has no necessary connection with the Puritan temperament. But it is fundamentally more Stoic than Christian.

² Which has been truly defined as nothing else but love grieved at having injured the beloved.

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but to exhibit a diversity of practice based on diversity of belief, and diversity means controversy. For each man, in so far as he holds his creed with conviction, is convinced that others are in error, mistaken in belief, and therefore futile in their religious exercises, and doomed to miss their destiny ; and in so far as he regards the key to life as a whole, which his creed gives or claims to give, as of supreme moment, so he will be moved out of regard for the individual heretic (as he takes him to be) to convert him for his own good, or, if he refused to be converted, to remove him from contact with his fellows, out of regard for the race. And so history is full of tales of wars and riots, massacres and persecutions, whose motive is religious.

We now regard with horror the idea of burning a heretic, but we do not sufficiently realize that the motive was right. That motive was the isolation of the obstinate heretic. He who is a heretic indeed is a nuisance and a danger to the human race, because he misinterprets life, and nothing matters so much to mankind as that he should know his destiny and his duty, that is, know the Way, the Truth, and the Life, and should rightly interpret the mystery of his being.

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And therefore the heresiarch who directs man wrong, and so may kill souls, that is rob men of their destiny, is more dangerous to society than a sufferer from small-pox, who at most can kill the body by the spread of infection ; for death of the body is only an incident, though an important as also inevitable incident, in the way. And it is therefore more desirable that the spread of heresy should be prevented than the spread of small-pox.

The mistake of burning a heretic was not that it hurt him (physical pain is not the supreme evil), but that it failed to isolate him and his heresy. It had indeed the contrary effect of bringing the teacher and his errors into closer and wider contact with mankind, by giving them a very good advertisement. It moreover exhibited the heresy as enduring the supreme test of the promulgator dying rather than surrender or conceal his conviction of the truth of his doctrine, and mankind is ever prone to regard the truth of any proposition as proportionate to the obstinacy with which it is maintained ; though opposite and incompatible propositions have been maintained with equal obstinacy.

The point of all this is that nothing affects

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human life so much as our conception of its meaning as a whole, even though our conception be that it has no meaning ! For then we should gather roses while we might, and get as much eating and drinking as we could into this little day that precedes the morrow of death. Whereas, if death is "but the gate to life immortal," we shall fashion our lives on quite another model. It seems necessary to lay stress on this point, because the modern world seems rather to have lost sight of its truth, and, while attaching some importance to being good, thinks it a sign of superior wisdom to have no reason for being good, and perhaps even no standard of good, except that which seems right to every man in his own eyes. If any doubt this, will he read the second chapter of the Book of Wisdom ?

We now pass from the general to the particular, from the universal truth, whatever that truth may be, about man's duty and destiny, to the Church of England, with its party strifes and lawsuits about clergymen's clothes. But even though these be miserable matters, yet the Church of England has something to say about man's destiny, and makes a certain offer to such men as come in contact with her to help them to attain it. She tells

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such children, servants and apprentices as are sent by parents, masters and dames to Church¹ there to be ordered by the Curate and instructed in some part of the Catechism, that they are "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven," and that therefore they must "renounce the devil and all his works, the pomps and vanities of this wicked world, and all the sinful lusts of the flesh." To this is added instruction in the Articles of the Christian Faith and in man's duty to God and his neighbour. Finally the child will have it impressed upon him that he is not able to do those things without God's special grace, that he must call for this grace by diligent prayer, and that God answers the call in Sacraments. Also, in particular, that in the Lord's Supper the Body and Blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful for the strengthening and refreshing of the soul: and that those who come to this Holy Sacrament should

¹ At least in parishes where the ministry of catechising has not fallen into abeyance, and information about the geography of Palestine and the Kings of Israel and Judah imparted by Sunday School teachers put in its place.

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examine themselves whether they truly repent them of their sins. And the Catechist, in developing this answer, would make it known that such as by this means could not quiet their conscience therein could, on opening their grief to some discreet and learned minister of God's Word, receive the benefit of Absolution. All of which teaching and practice is directed to continuance in the state of salvation, and the avoidance of sin and wickedness, and of our ghostly enemy, and of everlasting death. The child who hears these things will either hold to them or let them go—a choice which must profoundly affect the ordering of its life. And therefore that there should be a Church of England, and that it should have and propagate such a doctrine, is a matter of some importance to mankind, *it makes a difference*. If it be false, those who accept it will be the worse; if true, they will be the better. Also, assuming its truth, the benefit will be in proportion to the efficiency of its publication, and the greater the area of the earth over which it is published, and the intensity and significance of life in that area, the greater the benefit will be. And contrariwise, assuming its falsehood, the greater will be the calamity.

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Now the Church of England, strictly speaking, consists of the constituent dioceses of the Provinces of Canterbury and York, and therefore the doctrine of the Church of England is delivered only to men domiciled within those provinces, that is to say, in England, Wales, the Channel Islands, and the Isle of Man. In other countries other churches may, and do, teach the same doctrine: the Church of Ireland in Ireland, for example, the Church of France in France, and the Church of Russia in Russia. But it so happens that English-speaking men have established new dominions on virgin soil, notably in North America, in Africa, and in Australasia, and have the regiment, to use an archaic but very expressive word, of the non-Christian peoples of the Indian peninsula, and are carrying the message of the Gospel not only to them, but also to the natives of Africa and the Far East. And so it has befallen that it is the Church of England rather than that of France or of Russia that has colonized these regions ecclesiastically, and carried with it the English rather than the French or Russian expression of the common body of doctrine.

This expansion must mean something, but

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what ? What *sort* of difference will it make in the world ? Is it for the good or evil of mankind ? We will take for granted that as an agency for the spread of Christianity it will be good, because it is good for men that they should hear and believe that Jesus Christ is the Son of God and Saviour of the world. But is it specially good that the message should have been carried by Englishmen from England rather than by Frenchmen from France or Russians from Russia. Shall we on *that* ground "thank God and take courage" ?

I am well aware that the bulk of Christians of the Anglican Communion will answer "Yes" without hesitation, even with surprise and possibly with indignation that such questions should be raised. But all men are questioners, and some men are not Anglicans, and so such questions must be faced ; and unhesitating answers are sometimes thoughtless. So perhaps it may do no harm for one who is in the Anglican Communion to act as *advocatus diaboli* by asking questions. Is "Yes" the right answer ?

To my first question it certainly is not ; for when I ask, "*What sort* of difference will the spread of Anglo-Saxon Christendom make

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to the consummation of human destiny ? ” no monosyllable is an adequate answer. And till we know what sort of difference it will make we cannot say whether the difference will be for good or for evil.

It may be said that it will do good because it tends to the unity and stability of the Empire. It may be true that wherever the Union Jack or the Stars and Stripes are, there is liberty and impartial justice, and therefore that it is good for the world that much of it should come under one or other of these flags, and I personally am patriotic enough to believe that in many ways it is a very good thing. But the suggestion that the spread of the Kingdom of God from England is on these grounds a matter for thankfulness, is to regard it as a useful political asset ; this is intolerable.

Is it because the expression of doctrine is purer and life more wholesome in the Church of England than in those of France or Russia ? In some ways it may be so, but whatever advantages we have are counter-balanced by grave drawbacks, the greatest of which is the party system by which the Anglican Communion is divided into “ High Church ” and “ Low Church ” factions. No

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one can say that the explanation of man's destiny, which I have represented the Church of England as promulgating (page 14), is the doctrine of a party, because I have been careful to express it in the official language of authorized formularies. But, on the other hand, no one would deny that only one party would present it *con amore*, or that anyone who did so teach would be regarded as other than a High Churchman, and quite possibly as an "extreme" man. Now if the Gospel had been carried to these new countries by the Church of France or of Russia, even though they may perhaps also have taken uncertain legends and superstitious practices, from either of the churches, the essence of the message which is contained in the English Church Catechism would have been clearly and uncompromisingly expressed ; and so we must face the fact that in some ways they would have done the work better than we are doing it.

This point may be made clearer by an illustration. Let us suppose three men to set out separately from York to find their way to London. The first meets a Russian and his two sons, and asks them the way. The sons say that he must go through Peterborough,

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and that there are dog-headed men on the road.¹ Their father confirms their statement. The second meets a Frenchman and his two sons, and asks them the way. The young Frenchmen also tell him that the road lies through Peterborough; they may not be quite so positive about the dog-headed men, but lay some stress on an assertion that Peterborough is a fief of the Holy See. Their father also confirms his sons' statements. The third meets two Englishmen and their father, and they also are asked the way. One of the sons tells him to go by Peterborough, and the other through Keswick; but they are agreed in denying the existence of the dog-headed men and the subordination of Peterborough to the Holy See. The traveller then appeals to the father, who lays great stress on his sons' negations, but explains that as they are both his sons, he must not take the side of one rather than the other, but must be impartial, and that therefore he cannot express any opinion as to which way he should go. Which traveller has the best chance of reaching his destination ?

¹ I am adapting an illustration used by Kingsley in "The Roman and the Teuton."

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No analogy can present the matter it is designed to illustrate in its true proportions ; it is indeed essentially a form of caricature, whose function is to single out and over-emphasise a characteristic feature : allowance must therefore be made for some exaggeration in my parable of the three travellers. But there is always *some* truth behind a caricature, and there may be enough in this case to make us hesitate in saying that those races of mankind are specially favoured to whom the grace and truth of Jesus Christ comes through English rather than French or Russian channels. Perhaps were all the factors of each of the three presentments rightly estimated it would be found that there would be no notable advantage either way. It is time for us to make a fresh cast.

There are three notable features about Anglo-Saxon Christendom, and all are distinctive. They are as follows. (1) It so happens that the Church of England has extended itself along the highways of the world. The great trans-continental lines in North America all run through English-speaking territory, the Cape to Cairo route runs through the ecclesiastical Province of

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South Africa, through the sphere of influence of the Universities' Mission, which must some day become an organised Province, and through Uganda, and the sea route to the Antipodes, where the English are founding new nations, and to the Far East is predominantly an English road, on the course of which lies India, the "regiment" of which has fallen to the English lot. The only great route in which the "Anglo-Saxon" has no part is the Trans-Siberian Railway. The expansion of the Latins has been into Central and South America, a great and notable part of the world, but one which leads nowhere except to itself.¹

(2) Wherever the English-speaking race penetrates, there goes Anglo-Saxon Christendom. We have used the term Anglo-Saxon Christendom in this book, for the extension of the Church of England, in order to avoid such absurd and sectarian expressions as the

¹ The relationship of Christendom to the Mohammedan population is worthy of note. In the near East it is Greek, in the further East, English, in North Africa and the Sahara, French, and Arabia proper is practically untouched. The development, however, is not yet, though we are told that the Arabs of the Sahara have a profound respect for the "white *marabouts*" of Cardinal Lavigerie's Mission.

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“ Church of England in (say) the Argentine.”¹ But the term can also be used in another sense, viz., as the kind of Christianity which “ follows the flag ” whether of England or the United States, and that kind is a divided kind, for to whatever place the Anglican communion extends it never goes alone, but always accompanied by representatives of Nonconformity and of the Roman Pontiff.

My use of the word Nonconformity needs some explanation. We all know that “ Nonconformist ” originally connoted those who remained in the Church of England without conforming to the Liturgy. Next it was used of those who separated from the Church “ as by law established.” But it can be used in a wider sense, with which “ establishment ” has nothing to do. There is a certain norm in the use of liturgical services, organization, and other cognate matters, to which all Episcopal Christendom — Greek, Latin, English, Syrian, Armenian, and Coptic—conforms, and to which the non-Episcopal

¹ It is worthy of note that the oldest portion of the Anglican communion, since the breach of communion with the Latins, external to the Provinces of Canterbury and York, has always been called the Church of Ireland, and never the Church of England in Ireland.

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bodies do not conform, or in relation to which they are Nonconformists.

(3) The Anglican Communion is the only section¹ of Conformist Christendom which not only does not lay claim to be the whole legitimate and orthodox Catholic Church of Christ, but definitely repudiates the claim. The Orthodox East accuses of formal heresy all who repudiate any of the seven Œcumenical Councils, or who have interpolated anything (such as the *Filioque*) into the text of Œcumenical formularies; and Bishops who are "heretical" must have forfeited their part in the authority committed to the Apostles, or, as it is technically called, their jurisdiction: the organizations over which they preside cannot, therefore, in Orthodox eyes, be constituent portions of the legitimate Church of Christ. The claim of the Roman Communion to be the whole Catholic Church on the theory that there is no jurisdiction other than that delegated by the "Sovereign" Pontiff is well known. They would confine the title of Catholic to the Latins and such Greeks, Armenians, and others as have made

¹ Leaving out of count the Nestorian and Monophysite communions whose attitude on this matter I do not know.

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submission and formed Uniats. The Church of England, and the Churches in Communion with her, could not make such a claim without committing suicide.

Down to the middle of the sixteenth century the Church of England was simply two provinces of a homogeneously Latin Western Christendom. In the age of reform it was admitted by all Western Christendom that many abuses needed to be remedied. Many were content with such reform of abuses as was effected, at least on paper, by the *Decreta de Reformatione* of the Council of Trent ; which, not being concerned with theological controversy, have fallen somewhat into oblivion. Others insisted on the old order being so rotten that a break must be made, and they started a new order.

In England there was considerable sympathy with the latter party. But the old order went back to an Apostolic authority and jurisdiction received from Christ Himself ; the new orders (there was more than one) were self-authorized, therefore Englishmen would not let the older order go. " It is evident," they said, " unto all men diligently reading Holy Scripture and ancient authors, that from the Apostles' time there have been these

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orders of ministers in Christ's Church : Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. . . . And therefore to the intent that these Orders may be continued and reverently used and esteemed, no man shall," etc., etc. And therefore the reform movement took the same essential course in England as the more conservative reformation, often called the counter-reformation, on the Continent. But with certain differences. The Liturgical reforms were more radical, involving a simplification of the Offices, the use of the English tongue, and the restoration of Communion in both kinds. Also there was the denial that any local Church must of necessity be in a state of vassalage to the Holy See.¹

Now a local Church that carries out reforms on these lines, and maintains her own

¹ This point happened to be brought into prominence by a political and not very savoury necessity. Henry VIII wanted to be rid of Queen Catherine, and reasons had to be found for accepting the opinions of English Canon Jurists, though in conflict with those at Rome. Whether the opinions of either party were based on conviction or expediency does not matter. Whether the occasion for raising the question was savoury or unsavoury does not matter. What matters is that the issue was raised and the Roman Supremacy declared against, and that before the dissolution of the Monasteries or any proposal for liturgical reforms.

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continuity, that is that she is the same church after her reform as she was before it, and insists on the continuation of the ancient ministry, is involved in the necessary consequences of her action, whatever the sympathies of her members may be. Let us state them.

She cannot receive as a valid minister of Christ a minister of any non-episcopal body. Such, if they enter her territory and communion, enter, if baptized, with the status of confirmation candidates ; while those who enter her territory and communion from other countries or communions, which preserve the ancient ministry, are received as of the same status as they had before.

She cannot recognise as constituent portions of the Catholic Church bodies not organized under the jurisdiction of the ancient ministry, as no other jurisdiction derives from Christ Himself.

On the other hand, she recognises herself as being herself in the days before she was reformed, and that the Bishops and Priests of those days held Apostolic Mission and Jurisdiction, as indeed she is bound to do, for it is only through them that her present Bishops and Priests could derive that Mission and

Jurisdiction. From which it follows inevitably that those were Bishops and Priests to whom Christ's people owed obedience as His representatives, and from whom they should receive the Ministry of Grace, and therefore that there was nothing in their ministrations to which her children of to-day could not conform, and nothing to which a modern Churchman, when he maintains the continuity¹ of the Church of England on a Church Defence platform or anywhere else, does not *profess himself* ready to conform, should it be ordered by lawful authority. That is a profession that the official usages of that time are not in the last resort intolerable or contrary to the doctrine of the Church.

But if the Church of England of these times must adopt this attitude to her own past, she must give the same acknowledgment to the

¹ Such a profession of continuity means: "Did I find myself transported to those days I should conform to the usages of those days. This would involve my acceptance of (*inter alia*) Latin Services, Communion in one kind, the special Holy Week services, including the Mass of the Presanctified, and the *de facto* supremacy of the Roman Pontiff. I do not like such things—I advocate change—but till the change is effected I profess myself willing to conform."

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Churches she was in communion with in those past days whose usage was identical with her own. And if those Churches have continued the same usage to this day, then the English Church must give them the same acknowledgment *now*, and teach her children that they may, when on their travels, conform to those usages now, because they are the usages of what she is bound to confess to be legitimate parts of the Catholic Church of Christ ; in which would be included submission to the *de facto* authority of the Holy See : for the Church of England, though she maintains that no Church forfeits her place by not giving submission, yet cannot say that a Church forfeits it by submission without condemning her own past. The only thing she cannot teach her children to do is to formally express belief in those claims, a very different matter to passive submission.

As regards the East. She has in the matter of the *Filioque*, taken the Western side. All are satisfied that the West is not guilty of *material* heresy. The clause was inserted to guard against a local form of Arianism with which local authority had a right, nay was bound, to deal ; and to object to incorporating such a fence against material heresy in an

Œcumenical document is only *punctilio*. On the other hand the Church of England cannot condemn the Easterns for non-submission to the Papacy, nor for not incorporating clauses in Œcumenical documents. She is therefore bound to acknowledge the Churches of the Orthodox Eastern Communion to be legitimate constituents of the Church Catholic, whose Bishops have Christ's Mission and Jurisdiction in their own territories. So far the Church of England and Churches in communion with her have adhered, with one or two exceptions so exceptional as to help to prove the rule, loyally to the consequences of their own action, and are willing to hold communion with both the Eastern and Western Bishops.

There is one feature of this situation which is unpleasant. Complaint may be made that though our claim to recognition as a part of Catholic Christendom is ignored by those whom we recognise, we adopt the same exclusive attitude to Nonconformity. It is true, but it is a necessity of the position to which we are crucified ; it may lay us open to unpleasant criticism, but so did Our Lord expose Himself on the Cross. Had He listened, however, to the thief who said,

“Save Thyself and us,” He would have defeated the very end for which He came into the world. And if the Anglican Communion be crucified for the reunion of Christ’s Church, then, however tempting it may be to make charitable concessions, she would in so doing be attempting to move a nailed hand, and if she should succeed, would do as Our Lord would have done had He elected to come down from the Cross, stultify herself.

In other words, the Church of England cannot but abandon her position by being disloyal to its logical consequences, and if her position be one which seems to destine her to play the central part in the work of reunion, she cannot do her work if she abandon that position.

To sum up, she conforms to the Apostolic order and continues the Apostolic ministry ; she cannot claim to be the whole Catholic Church, but is so hedged about by the Papists¹ and Nonconformists who follow wherever she goes (for England cannot free herself from

¹ I use the word Papist in no invidious sense ; a Papist is one who believes with Benedict XIV that it is necessary for every human creature to be subject to the Roman Pontiff. “Papist” is a term of which no convinced Roman Catholic need be ashamed.

Scotland which broke with the old order, or Ireland whose people refused to follow the heads of their Church in their reforms but held fast by the Holy See) as to have the evils of Schism brought home to her by bitter practical experience, as well as the advantage of understanding other standpoints by inevitable contact, and the reaction of mutual influence. May we discern destiny in these signs of the times ? An answer to the question "*Quo vadis ?*"

But matters are not settled when we have found, either for a man or for an institution, both its destiny and its law of "Tabu." The destiny of the Church of England and the sister and daughter churches in communion with her is, if we read the signs of the times aright, to play a central part in the reunion of Christendom ; she has an universal mission *because* she has not universal jurisdiction. Her "Tabu" is that she cannot evade the consequences of the position to which she is crucified, for by so doing she would stultify herself and forfeit her function. We have still to remember that destiny means *work*. Active doing of things commanded and not merely passive abstinence from things forbidden. A positive and not a negative

command is the first commandment with promise. There follows, therefore, the need to consider ways and means lest we should but hide essential inactivity by purposeless fuss. Like—

The brave old Duke of York,¹
 Who had five thousand men,
 Who marched them up to the top of the hill,
 And marched them down again !

A pretty piece of drill, perhaps, but from the campaigning point of view, futile ; for, admirably organized though the march may have been, it effected nothing, as the next verse, which is a kind of commentary, shows. It runs—

When they were up they were up,
 And when they were down they were down,
 And when they were only half way up
 They were neither up nor down !

But vain and vexatious though the performance was, it has its lesson. The actual marching seems to have been well done, and therefore the preliminary work of drilling the men seems to have been in the hands of

¹ I can give no reference for this old rhyme ; it is part of the lore of my early childhood, but I suspect it of being a popular satire on military inefficiency in the earlier stages of the Napoleonic Wars.

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competent and hard-working regimental and company officers. But to turn this work to account called for the leadership of the Duke, *Dux*, or leader, and so do all combined movements of men. They needed the discipline of command which is profoundly different from the discipline of restraint.

No man can exercise at the same time the function of a leader and an umpire, whether in the military, civil, or ecclesiastical sphere ; he cannot, for example, be both Leader and Speaker in the House of Commons.

The father also cannot be at the same time an impartial onlooker of his discordant sons, and an efficient director of wayfaring men from York to London. But the application of this truth to the life and functions of the ecclesiastical body politic seems worthy of a chapter to itself.

NOTE.—The necessity of a visibly organized and United Catholic Church for the preservation and promulgation of the faith once for all delivered is maintained and discussed in the chapters of *The Future Life*, which deal with "The Creed of Christendom."

CHAPTER III

A THEORY OF ECCLESIASTICAL DISCIPLINE

THERE is a great difference between the positive discipline of command and the negative discipline of mere restraint. The latter belongs to judicial discipline whose method is to leave citizens to manage their own affairs until they break the law, when judges are called upon to deal with them.¹ When the laws are not broken the judges have no duties except to be presented with white kid gloves. The former is characteristic of the military services: the centurion does not sit at his ease until his soldiers do wrong, but says to one "Go," and to another "Come," and to his servant "Do this"; and military offences are sins of omission. Now for any association or community of men that has a destiny in the world, some contribution to make to the consummation of all things, the discipline must have the qualities characteristic of military service.

¹ This cannot, of course, be pressed to extremes as the public services must be manned, and some functions, those of a Juror or a High Sheriff, for example, are compulsory, and unpaid.

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The Church of God in England, commonly called the Church of England, and her sister and daughter churches in other English-speaking states and dominions, form "a communion," which, if we have read the signs of the times aright, has a notable contribution to make towards the consummation of all things, and therefore is in urgent need of this active, military discipline. It is but adding truism to truth to say that the Church of which the Church of England is a part, is a church "militant here on earth," and that she must have that species of discipline which is proper to her essential functions.

This demand for military discipline in the ecclesiastical sphere may sound startling to those who are familiar (as who is not ?) with the conventional conception of what the term means. It would, I suppose, call up a mental picture of the choleric, and largely imaginary, colonel, who, having read of "ritualistic" malpractices in the paper at his club, professes himself scandalized at such insubordination, and wants to know where the Army would be did it tolerate mutiny. He knows that he would have made short work of such conduct when he commanded a regiment.

This conventional conception of military

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discipline does not rise above the idea of a soldier as someone who is bound to do instantly and unreasoningly anything that he is told. It is to some extent false, for the centurion is himself a man under authority, and the commands which an officer may issue are strictly limited by the regulations. But let that pass. The evil of this conception of a soldier's duty lies not in its falsity in detail, but in its hopeless inadequacy. Obedience to orders is not the *raison d'être*, or end, of a soldier's existence; he exists because his country has enemies, potential if not actual, and his business is to prevent those enemies from interfering with his country's destiny. For this end he must be an efficient fighter, and for efficient fighting there must be co-ordination, and for co-ordination discipline; and such discipline that not only is the soldier willing, but also able to obey orders, as well as such that his officer shall tell him the right thing to do: the ability of the soldier and the sound judgment of the officer are both vital factors of military discipline.

The importance of realizing the truth of this is so great that it is worth bringing out by one or two concrete instances.

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When the soldier is ordered to shoot at a particular object he does not obey the order simply by letting off his rifle, he must be able to hit the object aimed at. Also, supposing the object aimed at to be a field gun with its team, the firing will not do much good if the gun be a dummy designed to draw the enemy's fire, which has deceived the officer directing that fire.

Again, an officer is told to take his men by night to a specified point for some definite purpose. The officer *cannot* obey unless he can find his way with a sketch map and a pocket compass. Further, if an officer lose his way in such case during manœuvres, his men will not follow him with any confidence, let alone enthusiasm, in the face of a real enemy : men do not follow a leader who is as likely as not to lead them wrong. It is a noteworthy fact in this connection that an officer has recently had to resign his commission, not because he disobeyed his superiors, but because he could not secure that confidence of his inferiors which is necessary for that willing obedience which is the essence of efficient discipline.

Military discipline is not then a purposeless despotism, but a purposeful co-ordination

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on a very delicate psychological basis of mutual confidence in which the soldier follows "with a glad mind"¹ the intelligent dispositions of his superiors. It may be ruined by incompetence or indolence, or by an arbitrary severity very far short of the ratio of pseudo-omnipotence to a black beetle, which is inherent in the conventional conception.

We are now in a position to ask ourselves whether discipline obtains in the English-speaking provinces² of the Catholic Church of Christ, efficient for the purposes for which Our Lord founded His Church, which were that "all may be one ; as Thou Father art in Me, and I in Thee, that they also," that is not the Apostles only, but, "them also which shall believe on Me through their word," "may be one in Us" ; and that though "the world hath hated them because they are not of the world," yet, "I will that they whom Thou hast given Me may be with Me where I am ; that they may behold My glory." And if the organization for this work, which is the individual salvation of multitudes

¹ I have borrowed this phrase from the English Ordinal.

² That is the provinces in which English is the official liturgical language.

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through unity, be not in working order, to ask what may be the disorder and how it may be remedied.

To most observers it would seem obvious that this standard of discipline does not obtain. They would say the present state of the Church in England is one of utter chaos ; there is no discipline of any kind, and therefore, as the general includes the particular, nothing analogous to such military discipline as we have set up as a standard for comparison. Now it must be admitted that the present state of the Church in England is, at least superficially, chaotic. But it is to be noted that the Church is undergoing a very severe discipline in the practical paralysis of her legislative and judicial functions ; and it is at least conceivable that the present appearance of chaos is a stage in a transition from a sterile and useless to an active and efficient order. Further, if this be so, the discipline of circumstances which prevents premature legislation is a state of affairs for which no Churchman with any instinct for statesmanship could be other than profoundly thankful.

No one can, however, pretend that the chaos which now exists, even if it be only

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superficial, is desirable as a permanent condition, but only as a temporary and painful necessity ; and we are therefore bound, if we believe in a Kingdom of God on earth at all, and that the Church in England and in the rest of the " Anglo-Saxon " world is a living part of that Kingdom with a destiny involving grave responsibility to the remainder, to do what we can towards developing the future order out of the present chaos. This involves an investigation of the causes of the chaos, which means a study of ecclesiastical history in England, at least in recent times.

Anyone who turns his attention to this matter must be at once struck by the fact that the most prominent place on the stage has been occupied by lawsuits about details of ceremonial and of clergymen's clothes. Actions have been brought first against one cleric and then another, in order that they may be restrained by judicial injunction from the use of this or that posture, manual act, " ornament," or vesture. Large sums of money have been subscribed for prosecutions in the hope of a condemnation of the practices complained of, and equally large sums in the interests of the defence. At last, the prosecutions having led to no practical result, a

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Bishop was attacked. It was alleged that at such a time and in such a place this Bishop in celebrating the Eucharist at an altar on which the lights were burning, poured water as well as wine into the Chalice at the offertory and made the sign of the Cross in giving the Absolution and Benediction. The result of the trial was a verdict that the altar lights were not an offence, that a mixed chalice might be used, but that, there being no rubric ordering the pouring of the water at the offertory, the mixing was to be performed before the service began. The absence of a rubric directing the action was held to render the making of the sign of the Cross unlawful.

“What a pitiful storm in a teacup!”
“What waste of time and money!” “What paltry questions of mere Ritualism!” are fairly obvious criticisms, and especially likely to be provoked by a purposely bald narration of the facts. But we are dealing with the Church in England, and the English have an extraordinary genius for making matters of minor import in themselves serve as test cases for vital principles, and this is none the less true for the fact that they don’t always know what they are really fighting about!

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Moreover, is ceremonial such a small matter ? Is not the true place of the Church of England in Christendom involved in the question whether the celebrant at the Eucharist shall or shall not wear the Mass Vestment ? The true significance of which garment is not that it symbolises some specific expression of Eucharistic doctrine, nor that it is merely a sleeveless garment of silk with a hole for the head and *therefore* (this is a *non sequitur*) signifies nothing, but it is valued, as the five Bishops who have recently considered the matter, say, "as exhibiting our continuity with the past life of the Church, and with the whole stream of tradition as to external ornaments which has been accepted in its chief forms in the East as well as in the West." In other words, the vestments, which are the best clothes of the citizen of the Apostolic age,¹ make for unity and continuity in the one and continuous Liturgy of the Lord's Supper, or Mass, in one continuous Church.

It is strange, but it is a fact of psychology, that man cares a great deal for external

¹ And therefore a precious heirloom from the time when salvation was proclaimed to all alike, Jew, Greek, barbarian, Scythian, bond and free, in one fold under one Shepherd.

symbols and relics. In the light of pure reason this is absurd, but the reasonable soul *and flesh* make one man, the association centres in whose brain are by diverse objects stimulated diversely. Moreover, as such things as were written aforetime were written for our learning, the relation of the walls of Jericho to the "ritualism" of a mere procession is worthy of attention.

It is by a consideration of the psychology of what is commonly called "ritualism" that we can arrive at a sane estimate of its true inwardness, and, as discipline in the visible Church is largely occupied with ordering the outward expression of man's attitude to God because such order must react on his inward attitude, it is worthy of consideration at this point. For, although in themselves and on the side of God, outward ceremonies of sacrifice, purification, investiture and the like, do not matter, yet, as we have seen, human nature being what it is, on the side of man they do matter immensely; for, man being placed in the limited world of visible tangible things, ceremonial is absolutely necessary to the business of human life, whether man be concerned in his relations with his fellow-men, or his attitude towards his Maker. The

very use of the words "relation" and "attitude" shows that ideas can be expressed only in terms of ceremonial, that is of matter and the motions of matter: the eternal realities and man's ideas of those realities can be expressed to man, or by man, only in the terms of time and space. From this necessity man can in no wise rid himself: for man's communications with the outer world are only through the motions and dispositions of matter, that is through gestures, postures, and the orderly grouping of assemblies, whether stationary or in motion, and the arbitrary noises and symbols which we call words and letters.

The truth of this root-principle of the conditions of human life is well illustrated from the fact that unconventional people are always something of a social nuisance: even a genius who is unconventional and yet a social success, is a success because he is a genius, but in spite of his unconventionality. I once knew a man who despised convention as "stiff and unfriendly," and so far put his views into practice as to forbid his wife to use visiting cards, with the result that the poor woman, being robbed of the recognized method of opening up new acquaintances,

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without which there can be no development of friendship, lived a life of complete seclusion.

On the other side, what would seem a more ridiculous and excessive observance of convention than for men to dress for dinner every night when living in camp in a wild country ? Yet four officers, sent out to make a survey somewhere in the lonely "buffer" land between British and Russian Asia, agreed to observe strictly the two following rules of life : they would shave daily, and they would always dress for mess. Yet it was to these purely conventional rules that the members of the party attributed the pleasure, and even the success, of their expedition. Such ceremonial reacts psychologically on those who practise it, it preserves the outward courtesies which are necessary to the sense of mutual responsibility, and saves a small party, compelled to live at close quarters for a long time, from getting on each other's nerves, and so preserves not only their good temper, but also their work.

Now if man have no other way of expressing his interior attitude to his brother whom he hath seen, it is certain that he cannot otherwise express his attitude to God Whom he has not seen. It may be said that God, being

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Spirit and therefore not affected by the dispositions of matter, man need not give any outward expression of his inward attitude to God. He need not if he could help expressing himself, but this he cannot do. Man may know that God is not within the relationships of space, but he cannot *think of* God otherwise than as so related, for all language, and man cannot think without language, is based on the motions and dispositions of matter; and so man can only think of God in those terms, as the very phrase, "inward *attitude* to God" shows. Therefore man will express himself to God in the mode in which he expresses himself to his brother, which is the only mode he knows, that is in his outward motions of speech, gesture, posture, clothes,¹ and the like.

From this necessity there is no escape. The Society of Friends have, I believe, tried to do so by holding assemblies which lay claim to be wholly devoid of ceremonial. But they are not free, for the mere fact of assembling is a ceremony, and the orderly disposition of men and women seated and silent upon chairs round a room is, if not matter in motion, still a conventional disposition of men

¹ In ordinary life A can show disrespect to B, by not wearing some specific habit, dress clothes, for example.

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in an assembly, and is expressive of the corporate relationship of those persons to God. A Quakers' meeting is therefore as essentially "ritualistic" as a Pontifical High Mass.

But "ritualism" is not merely the inevitable outward expression of man's inward attitude of love to God. God has accommodated Himself to man's limitations by expressing Himself in the only terms which man can apprehend, that is, in terms of "ritualism" or matter in motion. The Incarnation itself, as a revelation of the Divine Nature, is an expression of God in the terms of those motions and dispositions of matter, which are the means of communication between human persons; such dispositions of matter being, by the way, the essential idea of an "image."¹ But the purpose of the Incarnation is not only to reveal to man God and his destiny, but

¹ It may be of interest to note that the essential sin of idolatry is man making *to himself* graven images. If God is to be expressed in the terms of matter at all, He must express Himself, whether the medium of His self-expression be sculpture, picture, or verbal description. For man to express God to himself is to reject God's prerogative of self-revelation; it is also certain to be a misrepresentation, a misleading or heretical image, that is, an "idol." The Crucifix is not a man-made, but a God-given image of God, and is in fact a presentation which man would never have invented for himself,

also to redeem him, that is so to set him free from the handicap and entanglement of sin, and so to reinvigorate him with renewed vitality that his destiny is brought within his reach. This work, being the work of Him who is both God and man, must on its human side have its visible expression in visible actions which are motions of matter; the price being paid in Our Lord's visible life and death and resurrection, and the vitalizing grace of the Holy Ghost conveyed by those divinely appointed conventions of material motion which we call sacraments.

It has already been noted that a Quakers' meeting is the ceremonial expression of a *corporate* relation of its members to God, as much so as a Pontifical High Mass. It is this social aspect of ceremonial which brings it into a relation with discipline so intimate that if there be any real correlation between the inward substantial reality of personal existence

for it is to many a stumbling block and to more foolishness. The Crucifix is, moreover, authoritatively handed down to us in the form of four verbal descriptions in the Greek tongue, and we have as much right to translate them into sculpture and painting as into Latin and English. The Gospel narratives of the Passion are themselves translations—of the concrete event into Greek narrative.

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and the outward accidental expression of it in bodily motion, then the line of demarcation between the bodily motions of men and their disposition in assemblies on the one hand, and the discipline which regulates them on the other, is lost.

But granting this, does it matter how the assemblies are disposed as long as they are decent and in *some* order? The answer is, Yes. There is a fundamental difference between a Quakers' meeting and a High Mass, regarded as social functions, such that the two assemblies cannot both express the true corporate relationship of mankind to God. The round-table arrangement of the former is a denial of any hierarchical order or precedence among men, and so the arrangement is false; for the assembled circle must have so arranged itself in obedience to the ordering of some dominant person; and where there is some dominant person there is precedence. The High Mass on the other hand is hierarchical,¹ it is an expression of the truth that Our Lord gave "some apostles and some prophets, and some evangelists, pastors, and teachers—for the edifying of the body of Christ."

¹ Cf. Chapter VI.

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I have still to face the objection that after all it is the inward attitude that matters, and that the outward expression is relatively trivial. This would be true were outward expression merely the effect of inward attitude. But this is not the case. The outward arrangements are a contributory cause to inward attitude. It is by taking his place in the assembly that the child or other newcomer begins to realize his place in the Universe ; it is even by the bodily motions of speech in saying his prayers that he learns prayer, that is the uplifting¹ of his soul to God : for it is by action that man learns to think so that later on thought may determine action, which is a paraphrase of the command, "Do the work and thou shalt know of the doctrine." And so we see that the ordering of assemblies for sacrifices and processions may have more to do with the fate of individuals and the course of history than is commonly supposed. The diurnal procession of the armies of Israel had quite unexpected consequences ;² and the

¹ Again we *have to* use a ceremonial word to express a spiritual condition.

² The illustrative and didactic value of Old Testament narratives does not depend on their historical character. *Vide* "Future Life," Part I, Chaps. XI and XII.

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persistence with which Christians, in the days of persecution, continued their assemblies for the ceremonial breaking of bread, and refused to throw a few grains of incense before a statue of the Emperor has had some little effect in subsequent ages.

To come home. However much opposing factions may disagree as to how the Christian Assembly should be ordered, they are agreed that the ordering matters, otherwise the "anti-ritualists" would not promote prosecutions. And it is clear that good order can be promoted only by active or military discipline, which sets men to do well considered work. It is also admitted that good order does not at present exist, there is a general feeling that the situation is ineffectual and that the work of the Church hangs fire; and we have maintained that some consideration of English Ecclesiastical History is involved in searching both for the cause and the remedy of our difficulties.

But we already suspect the party system of being at the root of the evil.

CHAPTER IV

THE OXFORD MOVEMENT

IN the year of Our Lord eighteen hundred and thirty-three, at Oxford, in the Long Vacation, the Rev. John Keble preached a sermon on National Apostasy, which is generally regarded as marking a new beginning in the life and history of the Church in England, and as originating a movement which has helped to determine either by attraction or repulsion, the form of everything that has happened since. What is the meaning of this movement for the cause of Christ? Here in England? And throughout the world in general?

It may be said that its function was to bring to light forgotten truths. That it drew attention to shelved doctrines, whether true or false, is a fact which no sane man can gainsay, but it does not follow that the chief function of the Oxford Movement was doctrinal. On the contrary it can be maintained that its mission has been social rather than doctrinal, and that therefore it will, if it survives, bring the intolerable party system to an end. It is as fundamentally a revolt

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from the sectarian disputes and factions which originated in the turmoil and unsettlement¹ of the Reformation, as the aspiration common to Socialism and "Young England" Toryism is a revolt from the exaggerated *laissez faire* Radicalism of the Manchester school.

It may be asked how such a contention can be advanced in face of the enormous amount of controversy, vindictive litigation, and even brawling and riot which the Movement has certainly provoked. To which the answer is that an anti-sectarian movement must start in a sectarian atmosphere² or it would never start at all, and must inevitably fight for its life, as the sectarian temper is not one which submits tamely to displacement. Moreover, some at least of the contributors to the movement will be recruited from the sectarian environment and will work for the anti-sectarian cause in a more or less sectarian spirit, which will not oil the wheels of progress ;

¹ Whatever the Reformation may have done, it did not effect a settlement, unless we are to regard the cleavage of Christianity in this Island, which before that era began was in one communion and fellowship, into the two hundred registered denominations in *Whitaker's Almanack* as a settlement.

² Just as an anti-gambling movement can be started only where there is gambling to provoke it.

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though it will still help things forward as the propulsive energy of the temperament is probably greater than the friction which it generates. Holy Scripture also supplies us with an analogy. There was peace and quiet in the valley of Ezekiel's vision when it was full of dry bones, and there was unity and order when in their place men stood on their feet an exceeding great army. But the rattle of the bones coming together must have been a vision of disorder, and some of the subsequent stages of that resurrection were perhaps a little gruesome. But it ended in the army.

That the Catholic revival has this unifying motive is witnessed to by the assertion of Cardinal Wiseman that it is easy to tell who are in the Catholic Church and who not by ascertaining whether they are or are not in communion with the Holy See. Now we cannot accept the ultramontane conception of the Catholic Church, but we must admit that it is a conception, and the point of the Cardinal's assertion is that the fact of Catholicity is tested *not by opinion but by status*; and if Cardinal Wiseman and his fellows had been pressed they would have admitted, or rather maintained, that every validly-baptized person, which again is a status, is a member

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of the Church, and so, strictly speaking, a Catholic, but that he should not be allowed to use the title unless he fulfil the duties of his position ; just as a member of a college is one whose name is on the boards, but his membership is in abeyance if he lives in lodgings, never keeps a Chapel, or goes to Hall, or takes any other part in the common life of the society. We cannot accept communion with the Holy See as the first duty of a Catholic, and therefore a legitimate test of status, but rather communion with him whom Christ would acknowledge as the lawful representative of Apostolic power in the place of his, the Catholic's, domicile, whether that Bishop were in communion with the Holy See or no.

Now we maintain the Provinces of Canterbury and York, commonly called the Church of England, to be Christ's Church in England, and therefore maintain that he is a member of the Church of England who is a member of the Catholic Church, and is domiciled in England,¹ and that therefore he can

¹ This definition was *unanimously* accepted as a formal resolution at a Ruridecanal Conference of Country Clergy and tenant farmers, with a rider to the effect that only those could be treated as members who fulfilled the duties of their status.

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only leave the Church of England by change of domicile. This contention makes Cardinal Wiseman's successor Dr. Bourne, and also Mr. McCabe, and Dr. Clifford, if baptized, members of the Church of England. It is a matter which depends on their opinions and preferences no more than does their natural parentage. To be admitted to the privileges of membership, that is to communion, and in the cases of Dr. Bourne and Mr. McCabe to officiating at our altars they would have to fulfil their obligations. This is as much a status test as that of Cardinal Wiseman, and so far both have the same Catholic quality which is manifestly anti-sectarian. It is at least doubtful whether this matter would have been so expressed had there been no Oxford Movement. This is the significance of the new beginning marked by Keble's Assize Sermon.

But it must be remembered that new beginnings are always made with old materials, also, that such events as the Assize Sermon do not supply the *driving* power of a new Movement, they only give occasion for the letting loose of other and perhaps long-accumulated forces ; they may even indeed merely be a symptom recording the fact that

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the new forces are now coming into action. It is certainly worth while, therefore, to consider the material upon which the Movement had to work.

But it is not sufficient for us to consider the antecedents of any specific movement solely in regard to itself, for every movement is related to and must be conditioned by the general trend of human events of which it forms part. Whoever, therefore, desires to get really to the bottom of what is commonly called the Catholic Revival in England is involved in a deep and far-reaching study of events : a study which includes not merely events of ecclesiastical history—some of which must be traced back to sources in the dawn of the Middle Ages or even in Apostolic times—but also the movements of secular politics ; for, however independent the Kingdom of God and the kingdoms of the Cæsars may be, it is the same human beings who are called upon to render to Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's, and to God the things that are God's, and, whether they know it or not, to affect in so doing the affairs of mankind in both the Spiritual and the Temporal order.

One more preliminary remark. The Catholic Revival has been accused of “going

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behind ” and of “ undoing ” the work of the Reformation ; no accusation could be more foolish.

On the one hand it is impossible to put the clock back, to “ go behind ” an event and treat it as if it had never been ; for the simple reason that facts are facts, and their consequences are facts. Indeed the Catholic Revival, being an event subsequent in time to the Reformation, is itself as much a product of that event, as was the Westminster Confession, the Act of Uniformity, or the Council of Trent.

On the other hand it is ridiculous to demand that the Reformation be treated as something sacrosanct and therefore above criticism, the time of a new *depositum Fidei*, for that would make it a second Pentecost, and the resulting condition the alteration, by the addition of new factors, of the relationship of God to man. Whereas in truth it is nothing more than an incident, although a great, confused, turbulent, epoch-making incident, and therefore an event with mixed consequences and a proper object of criticism, whose mistakes we are entitled to try to correct from either subsequent or antecedent experience. It would therefore be unjust to accuse of “ disloyalty ”

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those who would go behind the Reformation (to the conditions of the first six centuries, for example) for material to correct such evils as have come down to us from that great upheaval. Both pre- and post-Reformation material have been legitimately utilized in the movement of Catholic revival, which we are accustomed to regard as starting from Oxford in 1833.

The specific material on which the Movement of Catholic Revival has had to base itself has been the Church of England as a Christian institution, as by law established, in this Island, at a period following on the Congress of Vienna, which marks the close of the Napoleonic Wars and the beginning of a New Europe. The Movement has therefore had to deal with an accumulation of disorderly facts, none of which it could afford to ignore for the simple reason that they were facts, which are stubborn things even when they have been long treated as obsolete and useless lumber. A large proportion of the material with which we have had to deal, and are still dealing, is, so to speak, of Reformation manufacture ; but some of it is modern and some pre-Reformation in origin.

It has been stated recently that the era of

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the Reformation, or better of the Renaissance, was destructive while our own is constructive. Broadly speaking, this may be true, and the more obvious activities of the Catholic Revival are certainly constructive ; but the truth is that in life the process of construction and destruction are continually going on.

“ The old order changeth, giving place to new,” and here in England, and especially in the Church of this country, it is true—

(1) That the destructive work of the Reformation period is not yet finished ; while

(2) The constructive work, which we are accustomed to date from 1833, really began in the reign of Henry VIII !

And yet 1833 is a turning point in ecclesiastical history ; not because it marked the end of the phase of destruction, nor even because it initiated a work of construction, for it is easily demonstrated that the Revival rests on a mass of constructive work of previous periods ; but because the Assize Sermon drew attention to foundation principles, which remain the same through all the varying accidents of time and circumstance. In this matter the foundation principle is that Christ founded a Kingdom or Church as His plan

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for the regeneration and reconstruction of Humanity, membership in which was no mere matter of convenient organization, but the state of Salvation itself. Christ's Society, however, being a society, must have organization and government, and its government is from above and not from below : the Apostolic power is from Christ, and descends through the Apostles upon their Successors even to the end of the world. No movement, therefore, of a destructive character can destroy it ; and no constructive movement can altogether smother it in detail. It must be as true on continents as in islands, as true under the Southern Cross as under the Bear, as true after the Reformation as before, and under all conceivable relationships which can obtain between the Kingdom of God and the Civil power. This was the fundamental principle or major premiss of the historic Assize Sermon.

There was also a minor premiss, which was that the Bishops of the Church of England are *God's* Bishops in England, through whom Christ's Commission reaches this island. The Communion over which they preside is not the "Church of England" in the sense of being a national sect, but *The* Church in England, and consequently while its Bishops

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and their flocks continue to exist, it will continue to be *The Church* in spite of anything that this Realm of England may, through the High Court of Parliament, do or say. It thus states exactly the fundamental postulates on which the work of the Revival has been carried forward through all its phases, and it also indicates the *casus belli*. The fight was waged to vindicate the Right of the Bishops, as God's Bishops, against the State; and to maintain the right of the Church against any unconstitutional exercise of Episcopal power. For the Church is an Universal Sovereign Kingdom of which the Bishops of our Island constitute but a local Executive.

Thus are laid down the principles of a constructive movement, and, as the Catholic Church is essentially a constructive activity *because she is* "the Regeneration" (Matt. xix, 28), a new solidarity of Humanity based on the new blood-tie of the new birth in which we are made "members of Christ, children of God, and inheritors of the Kingdom of Heaven." As such it is the beginning of a reconstruction which must end in the perfect symmetry of the Church descending "four-square" out of Heaven, the whole Body "fitly framed together growing unto an holy

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Temple in the Lord . . . for an Habitation of God through the Spirit." (Eph. ii. 21.)

But human nature is fallen, and the attempts at constructive work which man has made are shown by history to have been all of them more or less Towers of Babel, unfinished fragments ending in disorganization and confusion. And this old "infection of nature doth remain, yea in them that are regenerated ; whereby the lust of the flesh . . . is not subject to the Law of God," for Baptism only initiates, it does not complete the work of subordinating the inordinate affections to the Divine purpose : the lust of the flesh, though destined to ultimate subjection, does survive in those at work upon the building of God's Temple. And since the workmen are imperfect there will be faults in their work. But God is an exacting Master Builder, in His Church He will tolerate no imperfection ; and therefore all faulty work must come out again at whatever cost of time and trouble, even though the restitution of all things may seem to be delayed thereby. So long as any false or slipshod work remains, all things are not restored.

In practice this means that times must come in which the growth must be checked,

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bad work pulled down, and the work of reconstruction patiently begun. Or, if we make use of another illustration, it is like an individual who grows from infancy to childhood, from childhood to youth, and from youth to maturity not steadily, but with crises and sets-back, with periods of high fever followed by reactionary collapse turning again to convalescence, which often ends in a better and cleaner state of general health than had obtained for some time before the crisis began.

In considering, therefore, the events and destinies of the Church of God in England, and in the world at large in the present day, we have to think of it as a part of the general and co-ordinated growth of one whole Organism, a growth which is not steady, but disturbed by crises and reactions, which are the result of past follies and also of the slipshod inattention of those who have been called to contribute to the work. But, whatever mischief may be wrought by faulty construction or headstrong and unnecessary demolition, it must be remembered that on the one hand the foundations of the One Church (with her one indestructible Apostolic Commission whose mission and jurisdiction is to extend into all the world) cannot change, and, on

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the other hand, that the finished building must some day attain to a complete and unblemished unity. So much for fundamental principles.

When we pass from these to the study of the actual growth and development and crises of the Church, that is from Theology to History, we pass from the simplicities of principle to the complexities of practice.

If we are studying a local Church, we cannot do so without considering its relations to the Church Universal. If, on the other hand, we are studying the Church Universal, we can observe her practically only as expressing herself in local Churches, such as those of Rome, Jerusalem, England, or Alexandria. Nor can we ignore the geographical, racial, and political events incidental to the place and period of our study. A Treatise on the History of the Church in the first century is, for example, unthinkable, which says nothing of Nero, or of the fall of Jerusalem, or even of the Egyptian corn trade. So also the present condition of the Church of England is the outcome in part of such facts as that the English are a mixed race with a Teutonic basis; that they live in an island; that they had, at the time when they accepted

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Christianity, attained a certain stage of civilization on Teutonic and not Roman lines ; that Modern England is intimately mixed up in a political situation which may conveniently be dated from the French Revolution and the Napoleonic Wars; and that this same period has witnessed an extraordinary advance in the sphere of discovery and invention. Especially is the History of the Church in England in the last seventy-five years the history of an unfinished fight as to what may be the real meaning of the phrase "the Church of England as by Law established."¹ Indeed, it is by resisting an administration based on a false conception of the meaning of that phrase, that the Catholic mission and jurisdiction of the Anglican Hierarchy and the Catholic rights of the faithful of our Communion are being vindicated, and in a scene of apparent chaos an army is being organized for that contribution to the consummation of all things which Anglo-Saxon Christendom seems specially called upon to make.

We can now review the actual antecedents of the movement which seems a response to

¹ See note on Church and State at the end of this chapter.

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the call to fulfil this great destiny. Christianity came to this island when its inhabitants were but semi-civilized. To them it was the recognized religion of the ancient Imperial civilization. In such circumstances the ethical side of Christianity involved much civilizing work on the part of the Missionary, and the influence of the Church had much to do with the consolidation of the so-called Heptarchy into a single and tolerably peaceable and orderly kingdom. This, when a whole nation became Christian, with the exception of Jews whom it treats as outlaws, led to not a little confusion among such very practical and non-logical people as ourselves. The confusion in England was so hopeless that the distinction between Church and State became identified with the distinction between clergy and laity !

No one can read the Acts of Parliament and other documents of the Tudor period,—and they are easily available in Gee and Hardy's *Documents Illustrative of English Church History*,—without realizing that it would be truer to say that the line of demarcation between Church and State was almost hopelessly lost, than that any logically Erastian theory of the Ecclesiastical Polity was set up.

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The latter would be wholly alien to the English genius.

Next, because England is an island, much of this confusion has come down to our own times, little, if at all, amended ; our isolated position cutting us off from much of the reform of practical abuses, and of many of the constructive advances to meet the new needs of a new age which were accomplished on the Continent in the times which followed on the Reformation crisis. But the same isolation has had its countervailing advantages : it has perhaps stunted our interest in our neighbours, and given us a too confident conviction that “ we are the people,” but in so doing it has made us proud of our traditions, and has saved for us the continuance of the Apostolic Episcopate and jurisdiction, and prevented it from being swamped in the sectarianism of the Continental Protestants, to whose side our fathers inclined in the Ecclesiastical party politics of the Sixteenth Century. On the other hand, the isolation of England has led English Christians to forget that they are meant to have an *organic* connection with the rest of Christendom. They have even come to regard their peculiarities as *ipso facto* good and desirable !

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Our insularity, however, is not due merely to the geographical fact that Great Britain is an island. The intercourse of England with the rest of Europe was interrupted by wars, especially the Napoleonic Wars, during which, while the Continent of Europe was in the melting-pot, English continuity pursued its way until a new and untravelled generation arose which knew of Europe only as the starting point of a possible invasion. And this new generation, when it had safely isolated the Disturber of Europe in S. Helena, had to establish a fresh contact with a new Europe, with, among other things, a new relationship of Church and State, and the beginning of liberal ideas, in which we must include the "advanced" criticism of the Tübingen school in Germany.

Another factor in the antecedents of the new Movement, which we date from 1833, is that collection of miscellaneous propositions which we all know as the XXXIX Articles; a factor important, not so much from what they teach, as from the use that has been made of them as a test in the interests of uniformity. This factor in the situation cannot be dissociated from the part played in Christendom by other and analogous

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“Confessions” of the period, and from the general attitude of the period as to the relationship of orthodoxy to organization and discipline.

The most remarkable feature, however, of the Church in England, and one which the modern movement has not as yet visibly abated, is the party system, a system deeply imbedded in English traditions, and one, therefore, which is bound to affect the local colour of the Church in England. We have long been accustomed as Englishmen to being separated into two parties, and such parties, that the “high captains and chief estates of the realm” have been divided; the parties have not been class parties. This feature of English life dates from the Wars of the Roses, it reappears as the parties of King and Parliament, and later of Tory and Whig, and has survived in some form or other until to-day. There have also been “High” and “Low” parties in the Church since the days of the Lollards. Always, everywhere, there have been the High Church and Low Church temperaments, which are really the social and individual temperaments, manifested in bad proportion by poor human nature, weak and unsteady in all its ways. But nowhere out

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of England, or rather outside the so-called Anglo-Saxon peoples, have these two temperaments issued in organized Parties, which have symbolized their differences in externals ; so that the predominance of one tendency or the other has come to be fixed on a Parish as a whole, and the casual visitor in a strange Church can often tell from the furniture alone which influence is dominant, much more so from more or less stereotyped diversities of manner in the conduct of Divine Service, diversities which the Catholic Revival has managed to bring to its full development ! This may be, in part, the fault of the Catholic Revival, which, being a movement of human beings, cannot be perfect. But such a result is at such utter variance with the *motif* of the Revival, that it must be to a great extent due to the antecedent conditions with which the Movement had to deal, a set of conditions which we must realize as being of extraordinary difficulty and complexity.¹

¹ It is possible that the fact that the Anglican Communion is nowhere alone, but always accompanied by Ultramontane and Nonconformist dissidents that has been a main cause in keeping the party system alive. For these separate bodies must react on the Church and tend, so to speak, to polarise the two temperaments. It is a noteworthy fact that where the

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In nothing has the Church in England so signally failed as in the attempt to establish uniformity, a task which more than any other she set herself to accomplish at the Reformation. The aim of the XXXIX Articles was "to establish consent as touching true religion." The Liturgy, backed by Acts of Uniformity aimed at the Realm (in which heretofore some had the Use of Sarum, others that of Hereford, and so on), now having but one Use ; but as regards the result we can only quote the epitaph on Wren's tomb :

" Si monumentum requiris, circumspice ! "

The mistake lay in imagining that positive enactments could override human nature.

Such are the antecedents out of which the Movement has grown and the material on which it has had to work, and out of which must come the work which is yet to do. The past history of the Movement has been a promulgation new, not in the sense of being a "re-statement," but as a fresh effort of earnest pastoral dissemination of Christ's

Ultramontanes are strong the "Low" Church atmosphere predominates, as, for example, in Ireland, and where Calvinism is in the ascendant, as in Scotland and South Africa (Dutch Calvinism) the general tone is definitely, even if only moderately, "High."

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Christianity as a single, cosmopolitan, and, except for minor details, uniform organism which regenerates Humanity; and the revival of the Prayer Book system, as being the system of that organism, conforming, if fully carried out, to the universal standard "in all things that of necessity are requisite to the same." The Movement has therefore been one first of Theological and then of Liturgical revival, whereby dry bones have come together and been clothed with flesh and inspired with life so that an army stands upon its feet and is ready for the leaders who must embark with it upon its quest, and who must take the tide at flood.

It does not follow because the Movement has set itself to a new preaching of the faith and a revival of worship, that everything said and done by everyone concerned has always been right. On the contrary things have been done for the cause which have been quite inconsistent with it. Yet on the whole the pushing of even the hottest of hot-heads is more than the friction and heat which they generate.

NOTE ON CHURCH AND STATE

It seems best to relegate this matter to a note, so as to avoid interruption of the continuity of

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discussion. But an effort to attain a sane relationship between Church and State is, though not the objective of the Catholic revival, still a most important piece of incidental but inevitable work, and one demanding a comprehension of foundation principles.

A Divine sanction for conduct is inherent in the idea of religion, and therefore there is in all religion a motive for action over which the State has no control, and with which the State may therefore come in conflict. It is further inherent in the system of Christ's Christianity that power to legislate for the application of the eternal law to concrete circumstances was granted to the Apostles and their successors. And it is further a fact that the Church did legislate and treated her legislation as binding on the conscience within the New Testament period. It has been a part of the work of the Catholic revival to uphold this right as a general principle, and to maintain that this power has never been transmitted to the civil legislature of Great Britain, who cannot therefore give jurisdiction to the Privy Council.

But this is a position which the civil power in England does not accept with a good grace; and so there are some among us who hold that the Gordian knot of our difficulties would be cut by Disestablishment. It may be that it would. Again, it may be that it would not. It may be that, if it were, we should find ourselves in worse case than we are now. Again, it may be that the situation would be on the whole improved. But for us, or at least for those of us who have a part in the business of Ecclesiastical politics, it is a duty to know our

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bearings sufficiently to be able to form some reasonable estimate as to what the consequences of Disestablishment might be, and at least to realize the fallacy of the assumption that a disestablished or unestablished Religious Communion can do just what it likes, whereas one that is established has its hands tied. To do this, one must realize that there are certain fundamental principles of relationship between Religion and the Civil power from which there is no escape, so long as the same individual has to give his allegiance to God through both the Spiritual Hierarchy and the Civil Government. Since the days when S. Paul was an Apostle of Jesus Christ and also a Roman citizen, relations between the *Urbs Cælestis* and the *Urbs Romana* have been inevitable. The Church may know no compromise with "the world" but *must* have diplomatic relations with "Cæsar," who, in his own sphere, is a minister of God.

Let us start by a statement of the limits set by the Founder upon the authority of His Kingdom. It is not of this world, and therefore claims none of the rights of a kingdom of this world: its servants, therefore, must not fight or attempt the spread of the Kingdom by force, which is the prerogative of the kingdoms of this world. But the Kingdom of God has outward and visible expression in this world, the King Himself being Incarnate, and initiation into His Kingdom being by water as well as by the Holy Ghost. Moreover, the children of the Kingdom are bidden to assemble themselves together, and in their assembly to "show the Lord's Death" under the forms of bread and wine. To

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whom does the Font belong, or who has access to the natural Fountain in which Baptism is administered? What right have the Faithful to assemble in a specific place for the Breaking of the Bread? To whom do the bread and wine used in the Eucharist, and the chalice which contains the wine, and the table on which they are placed, belong?

The answer is that, like all other material objects, they belong ultimately to him who by superior force can take and keep them against opposing force. That is to say that in civilized society they belong to those whom the State will support in retaining them—by force, if necessary. This is the bed-rock truth underlying the fact that the State is the arbiter of disputed ownership. If Richard Roe and John Doe both lay claim to any material object, book, or cloak, or cup, or what you will, the State will say to which of them it belongs; and, if it be assigned to John Doe, the State will take it from Richard Roe, and prevent him from molesting the said John Doe—by force, if necessary.¹ Bread, chalices, fonts and tables, whether of wood or stone, are no exceptions. It follows, then, that in all cases of dispute about Ecclesiastical property the ultimate decision rests with the State.

Another fundamental fact is that the Church *owns* no goods, because she is not a corporation known to the Civil Law, and so cannot sue and be sued in a dispute as to their ownership or in reference to the

¹ Unless the forces at Richard Roe's disposal are greater than those at the disposal of the State. But this is at least a local breakdown of civilization.

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obligations involved. It is not the Church Catholic, or even the Church of England, which can be sued for non-payment of rates on Church lands—supposing the rate to remain unpaid—but the Ecclesiastical Commissioners, a body State-incorporated to hold property for the Church's use, which can therefore sue and be sued in questions of disputed ownership. All Church property is held in trust on the same principle. A Dean and Chapter can own a chalice used in a cathedral, because they are a body incorporated by Charter, and can sue and be sued ; and Churchwardens occupy the same position as regards the vessels and vestments of a Parish Church. The Church uses goods owned in trust by individuals or by corporations recognized and chartered by the State, who can sue and be sued in the Civil Courts.

The principle goes further. The Church is a spiritual Kingdom, with spiritual officers to perform spiritual functions. And a Cleric being admitted to sacred functions by the Apostolic Hierarchy can be suspended from such functions only by that Hierarchy. But "they who minister at the Altar" should "live by the Altar," and "they who preach the Gospel" are to "live by the Gospel," which translated into practice means that the alms of the Faithful may provide among other emoluments a house for the cleric to live in. But a house is property, and over property the State has dominion, and consequently only the State can turn an unfaithful cleric out of his official residence ; and for this purpose the State must judge whether he has or has not been unfaithful to the duties of his

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Priesthood ! Moreover, supposing a recalcitrant cleric refuses to quit, the Church cannot evict him ; it is the officers of State who must do this by power of the Civil sword.

This may sound dry legalism. But it is necessary to grasp the fact that this is a fundamental relationship and not an attribute of a special form of concordat which would be ended by disestablishment. It is doubtful even whether that process would recover legislative freedom for the Church, so long as lawyers judge the affairs of an unestablished Church from the standpoint of contract implied in membership. It is also our duty to realize the principles of these matters, if the Church is to do her duty as a Spiritual Kingdom in a material world. But to proceed.

If Church and State must live together on some sort of terms, those terms may be either good, bad, or indifferent.

Indifferent terms I take to be those which obtain when a State observes strict neutrality towards all forms of religion within its borders, the forms of the State having no reference to religion, and the State's practical dealings therewith being limited to affording the same protection to property held in trust for all and sundry religious purposes as she affords to all other property, and enforcing the observance of the contracts implied in trusts, such as the obligation of a Priest to perform the functions which are a condition of his holding a benefice.

Good terms are those in which the State acknowledges the authority of Christ, by framing its legislation in a spirit of obedience to His teaching,

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as in its marriage laws, and in its reverence for the sanctity of human life, and in care for the poor. Also in seeking the blessing of the Church on its procedure, as in the Coronation of its Sovereign and other State functions.

Bad terms involve some form of persecution. The persecution may be the outcome of avowed hostility, as in the first three centuries under the Roman Empire, when the profession of Christianity was treated as an offence, or when the meetings of Christians are treated as unlawful assemblies, or when religious observances, incompatible with Christianity, are enforced by the Civil power.

It is also persecution for the State to enforce Christian observances. When absolutely the whole *personnel* of a State are practising Catholics, the State will be notably a Christian State, but it has no right even then to make Christian practice a condition of citizenship. But such a condition has never obtained ; for even in the Ages of Faith there was no State without Jews, who ought not to have forfeited civil rights because of their faith. This is the form of persecution which perhaps really hurts the Church most, for it is a great temptation to a church to acquiesce in such an arrangement. And acquiescence must bring punishment in the long run, and the Church ought to protest, since the Church has no right to borrow the Civil sword.

A third form of persecution obtains in States which affect to be indifferent, and as such to be the guardians of religious liberty. It is the persecution which aims at exhibiting the State's indifference by showing a practical preference for indifferent or

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irreligious men in its appointment of executive Officials.

One more word on the fundamental relations. It is probable that they will always involve friction. A Civil State is instinctively jealous of any rival claim to the allegiance of its citizens. It was largely the claim of the Roman Empire to the absolute allegiance of the individual (which led to the setting up of the State religion, the worship of Augustus, a cult which a Christian could not accept) which kept persecution alive. But this jealousy can work its ends in other ways: under the forms of patronage, for example, or disguised as corporate submission to Christ, it can attempt and in part succeed in subordinating the Church to itself.

But the State is in a dilemma! Without this divided allegiance, the sense of duty in its citizens must decline, even where the spirit of *Bushido* exists, and to meet this decline it must increase its police. The moral teaching of religion is a valuable asset to any State, but it cannot have it without tolerating the separate allegiance which religion claims.

In practice probably the relationship between Church and State is never wholly good, or wholly bad.

CHAPTER V

THE THEOLOGICAL REVIVAL

As has been said already, we can never estimate a period aright unless we keep clearly before our minds the fact that new beginnings are always made out of old materials: but in the matter of Doctrine there are also other matters which must be borne in mind. Doctrine covers a wider field than that of pure Dogmatics, that is, such matters as (*e.g.*) the Trinity, the Incarnation, the Fall of Man, and the Sacraments treated systematically. It is concerned also with Christian Evidences, Apologetics, and with controversies, and in the field of Moral Theology, or the doctrine of right and wrong, with such practical applications of it as the movement of Social Reform. It must never be forgotten that the Doctrinal Revival of the Nineteenth Century was above all things practical.

Let us begin by enumerating the materials. These were the Creed of Constantinople, and other decrees of the Œcumenical Councils, and with them the writings of the Fathers; and

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after them the more controversial "Confessions" of the Sixteenth Century, especially the XXXIX Articles, together with the more discursive writings of the Caroline Divines, which bear a relation to the Confessions somewhat analogous to the relation of the Fathers to the Councils. In the matter of the XXXIX Articles it must be remembered that the Leaders of the Catholic Revival were men who had by reason of their positions to subscribe their assent to them; and that a very remarkable estimate of the Articles was in existence written in the Seventeenth Century by the Franciscan, Christopher Davenport, known in religion as Franciscus A Sancta Clara.

Another factor of importance was that English theological writers had maintained a tradition of what could only be called captiousness towards the Roman Catholic teaching in general, and the term "Transubstantiation" in particular, and it seems to me that it was this tradition of captiousness, rather than the "burden" of subscription to the Articles, which hampered their work and rendered abortive the Caroline Revival, or rather prevented the good work then done from bearing fruit till the coming of these

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present times. There is no question that the Tractarian activity was a notable breaking away from that tradition of captiousness.

Our next point must be to ask what led to such a breach with the controversial traditions of the past, a simple question, but one most difficult to answer, as the causes are many and their interaction complex. The most that we can do is to examine antecedent and concomitant activities, and to see how they can have affected the situation.

To begin with politics, the result of the Napoleonic Wars was to leave a different Europe from that of the pre-Revolution period, a state of things which inevitably brought about a general sense of newness, an atmosphere in which nothing is taken for granted on the ground that it is traditional ; it is rather a condition of affairs in which all that is traditional will to many minds be *ipso facto* suspect. This would force upon traditional Christianity the need of defending itself, even if the Revolution movement had not involved a direct challenge to supernatural Christianity, as well as the indirect challenge of German scholarship which cast doubt on the evidential value of the Gospel narrative.

Another effect of the close of the Napoleonic

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Wars was that it reopened the Continent to Englishmen, and so enabled Newman and others to go abroad and to observe Continental Christianity with a subconscious sense of the newness of the world, which would at least weaken that tradition of captious criticism of which we have already spoken.

A third factor was that the Evangelical movements, in which the best-known names are those of Wesley and Whitefield, Simeon and Venn, had raised enormously the *public* standard of personal piety. I emphasize the word public, because there existed the piety of a Catholic tradition which was handed down in such families as the Kebles and Bouveries and thus to Pusey.

A fourth factor was one which we may perhaps venture to call the Gothic Revival, though using the term in a wider sense than the merely revived interest in and appreciation of Gothic Architecture ; it was a revival which found expression in the Eglinton Tournament, Sir Walter Scott's novels, and even in the Ingoldsby Legends. The last were satirical, but satire draws attention to that which it satirizes, and so does something to re-awaken interest in that which it ridicules : to laugh at an apparently dead lion may do not a little

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to bring him to life again ! What the Gothic Revival did was to re-awaken an interest in the Middle Ages, and, therefore, in the religion of those ages, an interest which must, in those interested, have cut them off from the tradition of captiousness, and so made them take a keener and livelier interest in contemporary Continental Christianity, which they saw when they travelled, and which they supposed to be the unaltered survival of that of the Middle Ages.

If we are to consider, as we must, the interaction of these forces, it will be well to begin with the revival of personal piety, because personal piety, or devotion to God and the desire to do His Will, lie at the very root of the matter. The essence of the Evangelical Revival was the Evangel, or Gospel, or Good News, that this desire was attainable by dependence on the Person of Christ Jesus. It was, of course, also held that the desire was attainable in no other way : but there was no apologetic, the Man Christ Jesus, the Lord from Heaven, was mighty to save—this was taken for granted. Neither was there any explanation ; the means whereby man is brought into life-giving contact with Christ were not considered. It was, however,

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impossible for the revived standard of piety to maintain itself, except among persons of a special temperament, without facing the questions, "Who is Christ, that in Him ye should think that ye have eternal life?" and "How come you to be in spiritual, but in real organic union with Him?" The Evangelicals believed in the Incarnation, of course, but they were not actively conscious of its being the central event of human history and the reason for the efficacy of the Atonement, nor did they perhaps see the need for its formal enunciation in the Creed of Constantinople. But Rationalism compelled the devout to give a reason for the faith that was in them, and the practical needs of life in difficult times demand some expression of the *means* of union with Christ, and the discrimination in their use which lies at the root of all ascetics.

Now study of Continental Christianity may have begun with an interest in it as a survival of the religion of the Middle Ages, but that study must have led to the discovery of much that was not mediæval, but was rather the result of the Reformation. I say the Reformation, because I can see no sound reason for calling the events of that period which occurred within the Roman Communion a

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“counter-Reformation.” It was a movement which involved a great revival of personal piety and devotion to God and desire to do His Will, and an equally clear realization of the fact that that desire could only be realized in good works in dependence on the Person of Christ. Thus far we have a remarkable parallel to our own Evangelical Revival. But in this case there was a clearer grasp of the fact that it is as the God Incarnate of the Creed that Christ is mighty to save, and that He communicates Himself to those who desire to live through Him by means of the Sacraments. That is that the individual is grafted into Christ in the New Birth of Baptism, that he feeds on Christ, “Who is verily and indeed taken and received by the faithful in the Lord’s Supper,” and that His healing grace is applied to the sinner and the results of sin by the receiving of the “benefit of Absolution.”

The result of this revival was a change in Christian practice from one of very rare Communion to a state of affairs in which weekly Communion was not regarded as frequent ! With this went a remarkable and quite new development of self-discipline through the regular use of the Sacrament of

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Penance, in which "ghostly counsel and advice" were looked for from the Confessor, as well as the benefit of Absolution. This giving of Spiritual counsel led to a closer study of the exercise of prayer, and so to its differentiation into definite verbal and mental exercises, of which we need not now speak particularly.

The life and atmosphere of post-Reformation Continental Christianity can be studied by anyone who can read French in Gaume's *Manuel des Confesseurs*, and he will learn there the part played in this Revolution, for it was nothing less, by such men as S. Charles Borromeo, S. Francis de Sales, S. Philip Neri, and others.

The relevance of all this is that English Christians, who had been detrimentally affected by their insulation, could now travel abroad, and thus, being gradually freed from the captious tradition, and brought up in the revived standard of personal piety, as was Newman, were led to realize the need of coupling understanding with devout emotion.

There was something else which they saw, and that was a system of organized good works—parochial missions, retreats, and corporal works of mercy, much of which was

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carried on by women who led the active Religious Life—and they must have seen that English Christianity needed these things.

It is a noteworthy fact that this revolution led to the development of Missions to the heathen, notably in India, China, and Japan, in the Seventeenth Century, a work in which S. Francis Xavier was pre-eminent, and this zeal for the Gospel is again an exact parallel of the Missionary zeal which manifested itself in the Evangelical Revival amongst ourselves.

I note this last point because the phenomena of the so-called counter-Reformation indicate exactly what was wanted to give proportion and balance to the Evangelical Revival, and also show that there is no obvious reason why the leaders of the latter movement should not have welcomed and adopted them, except the baneful influence of the party system which finds its place in all things English. The leaders of the Evangelical Revival were “enthusiasts,” and that which was wanting, had they received it, came through the High Churchmen who distrusted “enthusiasm.” It seems ridiculous that this fact, coupled with the captious tradition, should have so hindered the movement of Catholic revival; but so it is.

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But it is time to begin to trace the actual work of the leaders of the movement in the sphere of doctrinal teaching and its fruit in personal devotion, in which, by the way, they started with one great advantage, in that all that system of regulated piety, which was to be seen as a fruit of the (counter) Reformation in Continental Christianity, existed on paper in the Church in England in the pages of the Book of Common Prayer, so far as the essential principles were concerned. What was wanted was to breathe new life into that valley of dry bones, and to profit by the experience of our fellow-Catholics of Western Europe who had made those same principles a living system.

It seems hardly necessary at this time of day to state that the method of drawing attention to forgotten truths, and bringing to the light treasures which had long lain in lavender was by the publication of those tracts which formed the famous series of "Tracts for the Times"; but it is of some use to note that tracts and pamphlets had some chance of being read in those days, as the enormous number of early Victorian pamphlets preserved in the University Library at Cambridge shows.

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The right beginning in this work was made when, through the tract on Baptismal Regeneration, attention was drawn to the fact that, according to the teaching of the Church, Baptism *made a difference*, and so had something definite to do with the practical business of serving God. This was a right beginning because the doctrine of Baptismal Regeneration is not only true in itself, but also leads up to the whole body of Sacramental doctrine ; which is that the Sacraments are the channels through which the quickening spirit of the Second Adam is communicated to men ; not because Christ has any necessity for using outward and visible signs in communicating Himself to us, but because we need some outward and visible vehicle and pledge of His action in order that we may know what He is doing to us.

But this work was not only needed to give shape and order to the revived Christian piety of the Evangelical Movement, but also to withstand Stoicism. All through the period we are considering there have been men and women who, in the language of Doctor Liddon,¹ “are on the one hand strongly prepossessed against the credibility of all

¹ “Bampton Lectures,” p. 162.

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miracles whatever, while on the other they are sincere ' admirers ' of the moral character of Jesus Christ." This " admiration " is essentially Stoic. Stoicism is a love of virtue, and the virtue which it loves is one attainable by the natural power of cultivated persons who are untouched by the grosser temptations. They may, therefore, well admire the moral excellence of the life of Jesus, but it is an admiration which wholly repudiates the idea of dependence on its object. It is this ethical repugnance to the Catholic doctrine of grace, much more than any intellectual difficulty, which predisposes so many of these men and women to repudiate belief in the Supernatural; to which nothing is so antagonistic as belief in the self-sufficiency of man, and therefore, perhaps, nothing so fundamentally anti-Christian. This attitude is not always conscious that it is Stoicism, indeed it manifests itself in various forms, such as the New Theology; it seems also to me to be the underlying idea of Sir Oliver Lodge's Catechism, and of the Pharisaic spirit and complacent virtue of a certain type of thrifty and immensely respectable cottager. It is a noteworthy fact that in the first age of the Church the most virtuous of the Emperors,

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Marcus Aurelius, was the most contemptuous of Christianity and its most thorough persecutor.

This being so, the needs of the Movement were not sufficiently met by proclaiming and defending the Sacraments as a system of "outward and visible signs of inward and spiritual grace given unto us, ordained by Christ Himself, as means whereby we receive the same, and pledges to assure us thereof." That might meet the needs of the Evangelical, who believes in the supernatural power of Christ, and is convinced of fallen man's need of His grace, and only needs to *add* a realization of the Sacraments as the channels of that grace. But the Stoics and Rationalists challenge the power of Christ to institute effectual Sacraments (*efficacia signa gratiæ*), and so a new defence of our Lord's Divinity was called for—a defence in which honour is specially due to Canon Liddon's Bampton Lectures on The Divinity of our Lord, to Wilberforce's treatise on the Incarnation, and to the work of those scholars who vindicated the Gospel narratives on which the theologians depended.

But the Doctrinal work of the Catholic Revival does not begin and end with a new

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defence of our Lord's Divinity and a revived emphasis on the Sacraments as channels of grace, there was also other work to be done. The XXXIX Articles had to be cleared of glosses which had accumulated upon them, on the supposition that they were principally, if not wholly, directed against "Popish" doctrine. This work had really been done¹ by Sancta Clara in the seventeenth century, but the position was re-stated in Tract XC, and was amplified afterwards by Bishop Forbes, of Brechin, in his learned treatise on the Articles.

It may not perhaps be out of place to suggest that the Articles have never received fair treatment. There are no such things, of course, as "doctrines of the Church of England,"² because there is but One Truth for the whole world. But Provincial Synods, as local committees of the whole Episcopate, must exercise some control over local controversies, and the promulgation of Articles is a quite reasonable method of doing this difficult

¹ Or partly done. Sancta Clara did not discuss any Article, or clause of an Article which presented no difficulty from his standpoint.

² Unless, of course, the Church of England is only a Sect.

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duty. The reason why they have not been better used and appreciated seems to have been due to two causes. First, the captious attitude towards Latin Christianity, which took no practical interest in any of the Articles except those which were, or seemed to be, aimed at the Tridentine decrees ; and, secondly, because of the burden of subscription, which gave the idea of a man being allowed to teach what he liked with thirty-nine exceptions.¹

But if the Articles were in some cases over-cautiously drawn (in some so cautiously, as to the number and relative dignity of the Sacraments for example, as to be almost destitute of literal grammatical sense) yet they at least avoided the danger, which in those days was grave, of giving adherence to any of the special systems which the Continental Reformers produced. Again, no one who has read Sancta Clara's criticism can fail to be struck with the large amount of matter in the Articles which, even from his standpoint of the most *intransigent* scholastic

¹ An idea in thorough harmony with the mischievous conception of ecclesiastical discipline as a passive discipline of restraint, and with the corresponding and equally mischievous tradition of procedure by lawsuit.

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orthodoxy, calls for no comment, but is dismissed with the mere note "this is Catholic," and that just in the places where the Reform party in the Church of England might have been specially expected to commit themselves to the systems of Continental "Reformers." As it is, no one can write across the Articles the name of any individual leader with the termination "—ism" appended to it, any more than they can write such a condemnation across the Tridentine Decrees. Indeed, if it be realized that the Articles and the Decrees of Trent are approximately contemporary, and that therefore the Insular and the Continental Synods could not have intended to criticise each other's pronouncements, but are, on the contrary, full of undesigned coincidences of language and of attitude to common difficulties and abuses, one is forced to see that the same Spirit was guiding the bearers of the Apostolic Commission on both sides of the Channel.

Even in the Sacramental Articles, which seem the weakest, there is matter of great positive value. Take the definition of the Eucharist as *Sacramentum nostrae per mortem Christi redemptionis*, together with the definition of a Sacrament as an "*efficax signum*"

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and of the Death of Christ as the *Oblatio Christi semel facta*. Substitute these definitions for the terms in the first definition which they drew up and we have the proposition that the Lord's Supper, or Mass, is the *efficax signum Oblationis Christi semel factæ*. Has, I would ask, the paradoxical mystery of the unity of the Sacrifice ever been better expressed anywhere in Christendom ?

But the preaching of the sacramental system and the living of the sacramental life of disciplined piety do not *necessarily* lead to an apprehension of the Catholic idea of the social unity of fellowship, and oneness in Christ, or make the theological revival an anti-sectarian movement. The preaching to, and acceptance of the Gospel of the Sacraments by, persons whose preconceptions are those of individualism may lead only, and must lead for a time at least and to some extent, to a mere system of dependence on "magically endowed men"¹ which is nothing but ultra High Church Protestantism. It was probably this tendency which, subconsciously at least, made Maurice and Kingsley with their strong social instincts so

¹ One of the best correctives of this tendency is the late Professor Moberly's "Ministerial Priesthood."

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conscious of antagonism to the movement to which their lives and writings have been such a great contribution ; and which they have done so much to broaden and deepen and humanize and save from becoming a mere school of High Church Protestantism, and perhaps also of High Church Puritanism. That there was some danger of this is indicated by the fact that the social Catholic instincts of Kingsley, who was a stalwart defender of the Athanasian Creed, were mistaken for Broad Churchmanship. Such a danger is, however, a thing of the past. Maurice and Kingsley and Bishop Westcott in his insistence on the social Significance of the Incarnation have done their work.

One more point concludes our review of the theological revival and carries us over into the liturgical movement. The theological revival was not wholly academic and controversial, but also evangelical, it has carried the Gospel of the Sacraments to slums and hamlets and joined itself to the chariots of those in authority in the Court of Queen Candace, and elsewhere.¹ It has thus completed the parallel between our own Evangelical movement and that which followed on the

¹ *Cf.* Acts viii. 26 *et seq.*

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“counter”-Reformation on the Continent, and from which it is in parts at least derived. It has brought about a revival of the Religious Life, chiefly of the counter-Reformation type,¹ and it now seems to be breaking down the conventional party barriers between the High Church and Low Church temperaments. At least such a demand as—

“ Priest wanted. Evangelical. Daily Mass. Apply to, etc.,”

is a fairly common form of advertisement and is significant.

It is the carrying of the full Gospel into slums and lanes, which, in conjunction with other influences, has brought about “ritualism” or the Liturgical revival.

NOTE ON TRANSUBSTANTIATION

One great crux has been the term “Transubstantiation,” which we English never seem to have understood, though even in the days of the Caroline Divines there were some who maintained it to be a mere logomachy, though a great one if only for the huge mass of literature which exists on the subject. It has been said that assent to it involves acceptance

¹ The restoration of the Benedictine life at Caldey (Monks) and at Malling (Nuns) is a comparatively recent development.

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of a metaphysical doctrine about the constitution of matter: but this is not so. The scholastic terms "substance" and "accident" are only a lucid analysis of the ordinary man's way of thinking of things.¹ Everyone thinks of an object as an actual entity which *underlies*² its physical properties, or, to be really accurate, the subjective sensations which are our reaction to the objective entity, "the resistance or counter pressure or endeavour of the 'heart' to deliver itself, which endeavour because outward *seemeth to be some matter without.*" (Hobbes' "Leviathan." The italics are mine.)

East and West accept the term, the Church of England was party to its adoption, and the teaching of the Church Catechism is based on the idea in that it makes bread and wine the outward and visible signs, which is nothing but "accidents," of the Body and Blood of Christ, which is the thing signified, that is "substance." But the English never took transubstantiation to have this meaning, and so the Church in England has refused to use the term, although there is a consensus of East and West in its favour. But this cannot make our position worse than that of the conservative Bishops in the period between the Councils of Nicæa and of Constantinople who were orthodox upon the question of Our Lord's Divinity, but misunderstood and rejected the word *ὁμοούσιον*, and their position for the time being was not a bad one: it is to be noted that the Easterns did not adopt the term (in its Greek form *μετουσίωσις*)

¹ Cf. "Future Life," Appendix p. 361.

² Substance is nothing but the underlying "it" of which everyone thinks. The "it" is undefinable.

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until a century after our refusal to use it. But as that difficulty was solved so will this logomachy be.

It is an interesting fact that Gardiner knew the real significance of the term, but that he could not get Cranmer to understand what he meant. The whole correspondence is to be found in the second edition of Cobb's "Kiss of Peace."

The following passage from Maldonatus, the Jesuit, quoted in Cosin's first series of notes, is interesting when compared with the Church Catechism.

"Respondendum est nos nunquam dicere idem esse Sacramentum et rem significatam : nam sacramentum vocamus signum quod videtur, rem significatam Corpus Christi quod non videtur. *Maldonatus de Sacramentis.*"

Also the following quotations for which I am indebted to the pamphlet, "An Eucharistic Eirenicon," by the Rev. W. R. Carson (R.C.), and published by Longmans in 1902.

A COMPARISON OF

THE CHURCH CATECHISM

THE COUNCIL OF TRENT

Latin Version

Sess. xiii. cap. i.

Q. Quænam est interna pars sive res significata ?

R. Corpus et Sanguis Christi, quæ a fidelibus in Coenâ Dominica *vere et reipsâ* sumuntur et percipiuntur.

Principio docet sancta Synodus . . . Dominum Nostrum Jesum Christum . . . *vere, realiter et substantialiter* sub specie illarum rerum sensibilibus contineri.

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The coincidence is in the words in italics, Mr. Carson noting that "*reipsâ*" is stronger than "*realiter*."

He also quotes the work of a Roman Catholic controversialist, who in "A Plain Account of the Catholic Faith" (A.D. 1720), quotes the same question and answer from the Church Catechism, adding—

"This then is the doctrine of the Church of England, which expresses the real and substantial presence of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament as fully as any Papist can do . . . if 'verily and indeed' be not the same as 'really and truly' . . . I confess I am wholly ignorant of the signification even of the most ordinary words . . . or we must suppose the Church of England guilty of a most scandalous equivocation."

Mr. Carson also quotes—

The Homily "Of the worthy receiving . . . of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ": which speaks of it as a "ghostly substance."

Also His Grace the Archbishop of York (Dr. Maclagan), who says: "It is impossible to escape from the conclusion that these words suggest that the gift which they indicate is something exterior to themselves because it is taken." His Grace also states that we "are bound on all sides to accept as of binding obligation the important statement (on the above subject) which finds its place in the Catechism of the Church." (Sermon at Newcastle Church Congress, 1900.)

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To which I would add the following, also relative to the Church Catechism from Cosin's first series of notes.¹

“ It is confessed by all divines that upon the words of consecration the Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially present, and so exhibited and given to all who receive it : and this not after a physical and sensual but after a heavenly and invisible and incomprehensible manner : but yet there remains this controversy among some of them, whether the Body of Christ be present only in the use of the Sacrament and in the act of eating and not otherwise. Those who hold the affirmative, as the Lutherans (*in confessione Saxonicarum Ecclesiarum*) and all Calvinists do seem to me to depart from all antiquity, which place the presence of Christ in the virtue of the words of consecration used by the Priest . . . for they tell us that the virtue of that consecration is not lost though the Sacrament be reserved either for sick persons or other.”

¹ Mr. Tomlinson has advanced reasons for supposing this first series of notes on the Prayer Book to be not Cosin's own opinions but matter copied down by him. This is very likely the case, as the tone and temper are different from the second and third series. But the notes are the work of a man of wide reading, who regarded Overall as his master, and, judging from the vigour and raciness of his language, both young and able. If the notes are the work of the generation before Cosin, they are the more remarkable, as at that time Calvinism has always been regarded as the dominant school of thought. It is a pity that this writer's zeal should occasionally outrun his manners, but when it does he can be almost as rude to Romanists as he is to Puritans.

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The following is also an interesting coincidence—

BLACK RUBRIC

COUNCIL OF TRENT

Sess. xiii. c. i.

No adoration is intended or ought to be done...unto any corporal presence of Christ's natural Flesh and Blood . . . The natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ are in heaven and not here.

.... ut Salvator Noster semper ad dexteram Patris in cœlis assideat et ut nihilominus aliis in locis Sacramentaliter praesens sua substantia nobis adsit.

CHAPTER VI

THE LITURGICAL REVIVAL

It is the carrying of the full Gospel into slums and lanes which, in conjunction with other influences has brought about "ritualism," as it is colloquially called, or the Liturgical Revival. Why?

Because it is by taking his place in the assembly that the child or other newcomer begins to realize his place in the Universe,¹ and therefore it is necessary that the assembly should have an intelligible disposition and definite business to transact which represent to the child or newcomer his proper place, function and destiny in the said Universe. And if this be the way for children, it is a procedure of wide application, for it is only as little children that we can enter the Kingdom of God. Further, if the following estimate of a passage in the Apocalypse be correct, we have Scriptural recognition of the necessity.

In the fourth and fifth chapters of the Revelation of S. John the Divine we have

¹ See Chapter III, p. 52.

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presented to us the order of the Universe, which is a corporate relation of mankind to God, and the function of created beings which is the worship of the Trinity in Unity. The relationship is, of course, spiritual, and spiritual things are not subject to the conditions of time and space ; but the author is fain to express himself in terms of time and space, and in those terms he presents to us an assembly intelligibly disposed with a definite business to transact. His description in detail is as follows.

Facing the beholders, who are a great company, is One on a throne supported by four and twenty elders, whom we think of as seated apsidally. Round the throne also are four "Beasts." In the midst, and clearly forming the focus of unity, is the Lamb, standing as it had been slain. As regards their actions. The "Beasts" rest not day nor night, saying : "Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God Almighty, which was and is and is to come." The elders also worship "Him that liveth for ever and ever." Beasts and elders also fall down before the Lamb, saying, "For Thou wast slain and hast redeemed us to God by Thy Blood out of every kindred and tongue and people and nation." And the whole

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multitude of the universe joins, saying :
“ Blessing and honour and glory and power be unto Him that sitteth upon the throne and unto the Lamb for ever and ever.” The assembly is moreover congregated in circumstances of splendour. There are seven lamps before the throne, a rainbow, a sea of glass, and golden vials full of odours or incense.

Now in all attempts to form a mental conception of the unseen and to impart that conception to others, we endeavour to illustrate the idea in terms of the known. If we are to illustrate ideas by the orderly arrangement of material objects then we express ourselves in terms not of the fanciful arrangements of a dream, but of the dispositions known and experienced not only by the speaker but also by his audience. If this be so, then S. John must have presented the order of the Universe in terms of some assembly known and experienced not only to himself, but to the members or “ disciples ” of the Seven Churches of Asia, to whom he addressed himself. What assembly would be known to them ?

It has been suggested that it was the coming together of the disciples on the first day of the week to break bread, that is the Mass. It

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may be said on the other hand that this could not be, because the Breaking of Bread in Apostolic times was a homely affair of the nature of a social meal ; also that an assembly on such a scale would have been impossible in the days of persecution.

To the first of these objections it is sufficient to say that there is no evidence of the social meal system except that the Reformed Congregations adopted it and claimed to be returning to primitive usage. But they may have been mistaken, and they are not historical authorities—because they lived in the Sixteenth Century.

The second objection opens the way to some interesting evidence in favour of the suggestion. The primitive Christians were not all poor, and so private houses would be available offering considerable accommodation. Moreover S. John's description is not unlike a Cathedral Eucharist or Pontifical High Mass in a Basilica, with the Altar in the Middle¹ and

¹ Or, as it is called in the great Roman Basilicas, the "Altar of the Confession." The meaning of which perhaps is that it was the place where the martyrs witnessed a good confession when the Basilica was a Court of Justice, and therefore the place for the Sacrament of the Lamb standing as it had been slain, which is the good confession of the Great Martyrdom: a

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the Bishop and Presbyters seated apsidally facing the congregation : and the hymn, " Holy, Holy, Holy, Lord God of Hosts," is an essential feature of the Eucharistic Liturgy at all times and in all places.

Add to this that the arrangement of a Diocesan with a court of presbyters¹ was already the established order at Jerusalem, and that many think that the same system had spread to Asia, the " Angels of the Seven Churches " being Diocesans : also that a hall large enough for a considerable assembly was used at Troas, that " the Church or Assembly which is *at the house of*——" is a formal phrase, and that such private houses would be private, and the suggestion grows in probability.²

If this is so, then S. John's description not only justifies the presentation in terms of striking coincidence, if first the Basilica grew out of the private house, and then private houses were used as churches, and then the Basilicas were taken over for Christian worship.

¹ Cf. Acts XXI, 18.

² It may be said that modern practice in the West with the Bishop's throne on the south side of the choir has spoilt the arrangement. It has ! And perhaps the liturgical revival will remedy the derangement before its work is done. But the ordinary parish arrangement with altar against the wall and eastward standing Priest is different. The priest stands eastward with the people

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ceremonial of the order of the universe, but presents to us the Christian assembly for the breaking of bread in a Cathedral Eucharist as the diagram of Heaven, and therefore the Eucharist as *the* assembly in which children and newcomers take their first steps towards learning their place in the Universe.

But in any case S. John presents to us an orderly assembly of the redeemed occupied in the Worship of God through Christ as his diagram of the Universe. Ceremonial cannot therefore be regarded as a little matter. Yet it affords scope for the exhibition of a great deal of littleness, which in the current Liturgical Revival, as in other matters, is capable of spoiling the weightier matters ; which would be avoided did we remember that our Lord's antagonism to the Pharisees was not an antagonism to ceremonial, but to the pettifogging spirit which stultifies ceremonial, by losing sight of its place in the scheme of

as one of them, their organic representative, and beyond the altar is that we do not yet see, the throne and the seats, and Him and His elders.

An organic representative is not the elected representative of a democracy, any more than he is a magically-endowed individual, but the member of a body who represents it by his distinctive function as my hand represents me when I write.

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things, which is to give expression to reality. We can now proceed to an actual consideration of the English Liturgical Revival.

It is well, where principle has become smothered in details, to begin recovering old ground by starting with a careful enunciation of the obvious ; and the analysis of the title-page of the Prayer Book affords a good opening. It is The Book—

(1) of Common Prayer,

(2) of Administration of the Sacraments,

(3) of other Rites and Ceremonies ;

in each case “ of the Church,” and “ according to the use of the Church of England.” There is a very exact and pregnant enunciation of principle in this title, and one which involves a clear understanding of terms. The three terms about which there may be confusion of thought are “ Common Prayer,” “ Rite,” and “ Ceremony.”

As regards “ Common Prayer ” : we lay ourselves open to confusion of thought by using the term “ Book of Common Prayer ” as an abbreviation of the full and exact title. The term “ Common Prayer ” has a limited meaning. “ Common Prayers ” are not “ Sacraments ” or “ other Rites and Ceremonies ; ” they are, in fact, the Morning and

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Evening Prayers which are to be used "daily throughout the year," together with the Litany which is to be used at stated times.

The words "Rite" and "Ceremony" ought not to require special attention, had we not drifted into a slipshod use of the word "ritual" when we mean "ceremonial." "Rite and Ceremony" are synonymous with the words "Form and Manner" as used (*e.g.*) in the title of the Ordinal which runs—

"The Form and Manner of Making, Ordaining, and Consecrating of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons."

The "Form" or "Rite" is the form of words or "formula" to be used in the ministration of any Sacrament or other ecclesiastical function. The "Ceremonies" constitute the manner, that is, the manual acts and the bodily postures and relative positions of such as take part in the Rite, and they presuppose the existence of vessels and other furniture, and a recognized arrangement of them in the place where the Rite is to be performed.

What is not *necessary* to this idea is that the participants in any Rite should be vested in any specific habit, but specific habits are used, and are, as a matter of fact, specified.

Having defined our terms, we must consider

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two assertions, a claim, a recognition, and two implications contained in the title. These are—

(1) That Common Prayers and the Administration of Sacraments and other given Rites and Ceremonies are the common property of *the Church* ;

(2) That the form of using these universal Prayers, Sacraments, and other Rites to be found behind this title-page is that which obtains in the Church of England.

The claim involved is that the Church of England consists of lawful provinces of the Church Catholic, her Bishops being God's Bishops within their specified dioceses and jurisdictions.

The implicit recognition is that in other countries there may be other uses of the same Rites and Ceremonies.

And the implication is that local sections of the Church, whether in England or France or Russia or elsewhere, have a right to regulate details of usage. This involves the important corollary that the Sovereign Authority of the whole Catholic Church is behind all legitimate local regulations in the matter of usage, so that he who disobeys lawful local Authority disobeys Œcumenical Authority. Which

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brings us to the second implication, which is the admission that local Authority is limited by an obligation of conformity, without which a local church could not describe its Common Prayers and other Rites and Ceremonies as those "of the Church," and could not have any Sacraments at all.¹

Now the practical question for us to ask is, "How far does the actual Liturgical Revival in which we are taking part give effect to these principles?" And it is a question of the very gravest importance, for the principles involved are vital to our position. We cannot claim to *be* Catholics on the ground that, our domicile being English, we are in communion with the Bishops of the Provinces of Canterbury and of York, unless the above principles be true, and therefore, in so far as the Liturgical Revival forgets these principles, we are undermining our own position; for so remorseless is the logic of events that actions which are wrong in principle always sow the seeds of a harvest of concrete difficulty and disorder, even when the sower has not realized what he is doing. Let us now consider the actual formulæ for the Common Prayers,

¹ It is remarkable how even this preliminary study begins to reveal the movement as making for unity.

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Sacraments, and other Rites and Ceremonies of the Church contained in what is popularly called the "Prayer Book."

First, as regards Rite. The Common Prayers are a "use" of the exercise of the Psalter, the whole of which is said through in a monthly course (we are still in the region of the obvious), together with a system of Old and New Testament Lessons, and of Canticles, Responses and Collects, which form a system so complete in itself that no addition of lesser hours, or of any other kind, except an anthem or hymn in the appointed place, couples up with them at all naturally.

The same is true of the Forms for the Administration of the Sacraments and other Functions ; the Rite in each case provides a form for effectually doing the thing to be done. In this connection we can leave other Rites out of our discussion, and fix our attention on the "Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper and Holy Communion," which some of us call the Mass. This, as do the other Rites, provides for effectually doing the thing to be done, even though some of the parts be so dislocated from their usual places as to render the Rite somewhat (may we say ?) eccentric. Some space must be given to this point.

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The Liturgy of the Mass always consists of the following parts—

- I. An “Ante-Communion” of Lessons, etc., and a Sermon, of which the principal feature is the Gospel.
- II. The Offertory (which is *not* the collection) in which the Bread and Wine are placed on the Altar.
- III. The “Giving of Thanks,” consisting of—
 - (a) Preface and *Sanctus* ;
 - (b) The Consecration.
- IV. The Communion of Priest and People.
- V. A Dismissal formula.

A general and detailed Intercession for all estates of men in Christ’s Church is also a universal feature, but its position in the Liturgy is various.

With this broad outline the use of the Church of England is in obvious conformity. Such eccentricity as exists is found in the details of the matter included under the term “Consecration.” In this the following parts occur, in a normal Liturgy, usually in the following order—

- (1) A Commemoration of our Lord’s Passion ;
- (2) The Words of Institution ;
- (3) An Oblation, in which it is stated that

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the Memorial commanded by Christ is being made ;

(4) An Invocation of the Holy Ghost.

On these follow the Lord's Prayer and prayers for a good Communion, and then the Communion itself. The Dismissal formula is usually brief.

According to the English Use this order is much deranged. The Consecration Prayer is cast in the form of a Collect, with a double address ; the first of which commemorates the Passion, and the second acknowledges the obligation of continuing the Memorial of the Passion. Then follows the petition that " we receiving these Thy creatures of Bread and Wine may be partakers of His most Blessed Body and Blood," which is the essential idea of the Invocation of the Holy Ghost ; and, finally, the plea takes the form of saying and doing what our Lord said and did at the Institution on Maunday Thursday. Upon this follows the Communion, *after* which follows the Lord's Prayer, and then the prayer asking God's acceptance of the Sacrifice, which we call the Prayer of Oblation, and which is a paraphrase of so much of the Pre-Reformation Consecration Prayer or " Canon " as followed the Words of Institution.

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The object of this derangement was no doubt to belittle the idea of Sacrifice; but, as we shall see later, a new Rubric was afterwards added, which, while it rendered the arrangement of our Use still more eccentric, went a long way towards defeating the design of the belittlers of the Sacrifice. But it is well to remember that they could only belittle it, *they could not take the Sacrifice away*; for things are what they are, and not what we should like them to be. The Eucharist is as much a Sacrifice as Christ made it; and so long as we carry out the *minimum* of Christ's Institution the Sacrifice is there, however bald or slovenly our presentation of it may be. From this it follows that, however appropriate it may be, and it is most appropriate, that petition should be made that God would accept "this our Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving," yet such a prayer is no *essential* part of the Sacrifice. Further it would seem that it is equally appropriate for such a request to be made before, during, or after the essential Action. It is therefore ridiculous to suppose that the sacrificial character of a Eucharist is diminished in which the petition is made after the Sacrifice is completed by Communion, instead of over the

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Consecrated Species, for it is the Act of Consecration itself which is Sacrificial.

We are here discussing the Ritual, and not the Ceremonial, of the Mass, but it is as well to note now that the last revision of the Prayer Book ordained that the remains of the Sacred Species were to be reserved till after the Blessing, and then consumed. This place for the ablutions is certainly eccentric, but it always necessitates the reservation of some of the Precious Blood over Which the prayer of oblation is therefore said. This reservation is in practice analogous to the reservation of the blood of sprinkling in the Mosaic sacrifices. It is, as a liturgical usage eccentric, but it effectually defeats the intention of the belittlers of sacrifice when they effected their derangement. No one would say that the Revisers had this intention when they made this order, but, in this as in other matters, *l'homme propose mais Dieu dispose*.¹

To turn to Ceremonial. Minute and exhaustive directions for manual acts and the

¹ It is marvellous how little, if at all, these technical eccentricities matter, how, indeed, they disappear altogether from one's notice in actually using the English Rite, so obviously does it satisfy the broad requirement of providing a form for effectually doing the thing to be done.

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positions and postures of ministers and people need not be contained in the same book as the Rite in which they are to be used ; indeed, they need not be written down at all. When they are thus included, they are mere memoranda, and, if Mr. Lacey, in his book on Church Law, is right, they are not meant to be regarded as laws to be obeyed with Rabbinical exactitude. This view is supported by a curious sentence in the Preface of the Prayer Book about " too much stiffness," and also by the practice of Bishop Andrewes. The practice of this and other Caroline Bishops also confirms the view that Rubrics, or Ceremonial *memoranda*, are not necessarily exhaustive ; for they did, and pressed others to do, many things for which there was no rubrical authority, including the Manual Acts in the Consecration, for which there was no rubric in their day. And, as a matter of fact, the rubrics are still very fragmentary, except in the Marriage Rite, and somewhat carelessly drafted, especially as there is a rubric still standing in the Ordinal which makes sense only if used with the Mass of 1549 !¹ And we

¹ The rubric ordering a special Collect, " After the last Collect and immediately afore the Benediction," which ignores the present position of the *Gloria in Excelsis*.

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cannot suppose much pains to have been taken with the Rubrics of that year, one, at least, of which lapses into Latin in the middle of a sentence !

Truth to tell, the place of rubrics in the Use of these Provinces is taken by that broad general reference to the second year of King Edward the Sixth which we call the Ornaments Rubric, and which, whether it refers to the ceremonial of the book of 1549, or to that of the year preceding, undoubtedly orders the vesture, ceremonial, and furnishing of a Church which had been common to the whole of Western Christendom down to that date, and is preserved as a living tradition on the Continent to this day. It cannot, however, be said that this rubric, by reference, lays down an order in the matter of Ornaments and ceremonies which can be invoked as deciding meticulous controversies about matters of detail, even if it were certain that the rubric refers to the year 1548, and so makes the rubrics of the Sarum Missal as much rubrics of our present Service Book as if they were there printed *in extenso*. This is not certain, because learned and candid men are not agreed on the point ; and it is quite in keeping with the evidence of carelessness

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which we have found in some of the other rubrics that it should be so loosely-worded that its exact meaning is lost in ambiguity, and yet that its broad general intention is unmistakable. And it is the broad general intention that matters.

In the actual history of the Church in this island, however, we find that this intention has been ignored, and that the whole scheme of ceremonial, except for the essential manual acts necessary for the administration of the Sacraments, has been allowed to fall into abeyance. It says much, therefore, for the conformity of the English Rite to the common standards of Catholic Christendom that so acute and impartial an observer as Mr. Samuel Pepys should remark on the essential identity of the Rites of both Baptism and the Eucharist in the English and Roman Uses.¹ Also, if George Eliot gives a true picture of pre-tractarian Churchmanship in "Silas Marner," the essentially Catholic quality of Dolly Winthrop's simple and wholesome religion, with its real though vague conception of Sacramental Grace, is a matter not to be forgotten,

¹ Pepys' comparisons were the result of visits of curiosity to the Queen's (Latin) Chapel.

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nor its complete and radical difference from the religion of Lantern Yard.

But this very fact affords an opening for objection. If the English Ritual was so manifestly Catholic to Pepys, and could produce so Catholic a personal religion as that of Dolly Winthrop, although the Ceremonial which had been meant to accompany it had fallen into uniform desuetude, why should it have been revived? And why in particular should isolated parish Priests have taken upon themselves to break with existing custom and so destroy that external uniformity in the performance of Divine Service? Especially in view of the fact that Ceremonial is essentially a convention, and forgotten Ceremonies, if revived, would be as meaningless to the new generation as obsolete words.

It may be said that the Tractarian Revival in doctrine necessitated it, but not inevitably. They preached anew the Gospel of the Sacraments, that is, the reality of God's gracious uplifting of fallen man as underlying certain Ceremonies, and therefore the great importance of those Ceremonies, since in them the Saving Acts of God are brought into the sphere of sense, that thereby man may know what God is doing to him. But the only difference

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they *need* have made was that then existing customs should be observed with the reverent dignity of demeanour that springs from a living faith in their real contact with Heaven, instead of the slovenly irreverence that results from regarding them as tiresome and meaningless performances. And for the restoration of the Eucharist to its proper place in the Sunday Services nothing more was wanted than to make every Sunday a "Sacrament Sunday." I believe that this is all that many of the Tractarians ever attempted, and that some of them deprecated any further developments. There must have been some further motive, some circumstance which made the revival of the ceremonial of the Ornaments Rubric supply a real and living want.

Belief has already been expressed in the need of an order, a setting of the assembly¹

¹ I have tried to emphasize the orderly and intelligible grouping of the assembly as one of the fundamental necessities of ceremonial ; and in nothing have the post-Reformation changes in our churches so stultified the plan of the fabric as in the utter lack of system with which private pews were placed, and the height of their partitions whereby the Altar, still in its ancient place, ceased to be a noticeable or even visible piece of furniture. It is only fair to say that the height of the pews must have been almost an indispensable shelter in leaky and dilapidated buildings. The Church restorers have done

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and a sacrificial procedure which are for the child and the newcomer first steps to the realization and so to the attainment of their place in the Universe. To this we may add the reviving sense of pageantry and colour, which moves such as have a real faith in the Sacraments to clothe them in the colour and pageantry which the Ornaments Rubric shows to be intended. Add again to this the breaking down of the barriers of insularity and the necessity for conformity of a local Church to the usages of the Whole, and then the opportunity offered by the Ornaments Rubric becomes irresistible.

But considering that the Ceremonial of the West was to the English mind, and with some is still, synonymous with "Rome," and the traditionally captious attitude of that mind to that word, it could not have been but that the movement should generate opposition; and that the movement and the opposition, seeing that both are English, should develop

their essential work in recovering at least the outline of the old arrangements, though they have obscured their own good work by over-crowding chancels with organs and seats for singers, and have been guilty of an appalling amount of vandalism in their treatment of genuine old work which it would have served their purpose far better to preserve.

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into antagonistic party organizations. The opposition has not succeeded in "putting down Ritualism," but the lines along which the Movement has developed have been greatly influenced by this opposition which availed itself—such is the irony of events—of that unreformed and thoroughly mediæval tradition of "our reformed Church," procedure by lawsuit. It challenged in the courts the "legality" of this and that revived usage.¹ Their attempt to suppress usages has had singularly little success, but it has had its effect none the less: it has distracted the minds of the promoters of Liturgical Revival from their objective to the frittering away of energy on details. And so the progress of the movement was judged by the increased adoption of the Eastward Position, the restoration of the Mixed Chalice, and of the Mass Vestments, and so on. Energy and attention were dissipated on "six points" of detail instead of being concentrated on the restoration of the Mass as a whole, a dissipation the more easily effected in that the minds

¹ Their appeal to the Civil Power made the Ceremonial question a test case for fighting out the rival claims of Spiritual and Civil Power, but that does not concern us now.

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of the restorers were English minds, and the English mind dearly loves a minor premiss !

The consequence of this has been that, whereas the usages of the Mass were developed, the Mass itself receded to the position of the "Early Service," which came of forgetting that the Mass matters more than its details. Consider the arrangement and its meaning. The Common Prayers for Morning and Evening become the principal Services of Sunday, rendered with coloured stoles and much music, in a restored church with a chancel more or less correctly furnished as regards detail, but in which the Altar and the space round it are overpowered by the extensive arrangements made for Organist and Singers, so that it becomes predominantly a place of singing rather than of sacrifice. The old-fashioned Table Prayers, which at least saved the Liturgical Gospel and kept open the way for the restoration of the Sacrifice to its lawful position, are abandoned, and the Eucharist becomes an "occasional service" for giving Communion under circumstances of privacy to the more devout ; a depression of the whole in no way compensated for by better details of usage. There can be no doubt as to what this arrangement says. This

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system says, "Common Prayers with Sermons are the object of the General Assembly of the Faithful; the Early Service is simply for the convenience of Communicants." That it is celebrated every week is sufficiently accounted for by the fact that there are enough of the devout to make a weekly demand for Communion.

No arrangement could be more antagonistic to Œcumenical tradition, which makes the Sacrifice the object of the assembly of the Faithful on the Lord's Day. Yet are there not some of us who would contend earnestly for the supremacy of Œcumenical custom, and yet regard this conventional "High Church" arrangement with complacency?

However, the goal of all this effort is unity; in spite of the mistakes and imperfections of the workers, an army of some magnitude has been raised from very dry bones. The work so far has been that of drill sergeants and other subordinates. But the army being raised must not only do its work of winning recruits from the world, but find for each his place in the General Assembly of the Church of the Firstborn, that so he may come to do better his duty towards God *and* towards his neighbour.

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But no army can move without leaders, who must be something more than mere inspectors to correct mistakes in barrack-yard drill.

NOTE A ON THE USE OF PRIVATE HOUSES FOR THE CHRISTIAN ASSEMBLY

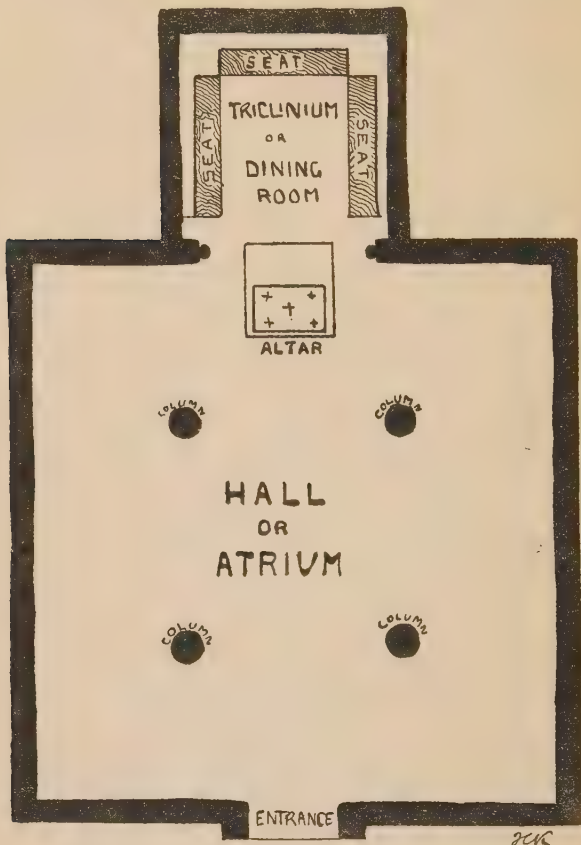
A fundamental idea underlying the various arrangements of ancient houses was that of rooms opening out of a central quadrangle. A principal reception room sometimes had its whole side open to the court, and round the other three sides divans or seats. The central court may have had a cloister round it and the central space may have sometimes been covered with an awning. The Roman house was an application of this principle. The courtyard was more covered in and became a hall or *Atrium*. The room with three divans was the Latin *triclinium*, used as a dining-room, and stood opposite the entrance door. Just outside it was the altar of the Lares and Penates.

Substitute for this a Christian altar, seat the Bishops and clergy apsidally on the seats or divans in the dining-room, and place the general congregation in the colonnaded *Atrium* or Hall, and we have the essential arrangement of a basilican church, and one which lends itself to the disposition used by S. John as a pattern of things in the heavens.

It is easy also to see how such an arrangement would have adapted itself to a law court, with judges in the *triclinium*, and prisoner and pleaders,

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at the entrance or “confession” (which we should call the bar), with the Altar of *Divus Augustus*,



PLAN OF A HOUSE ADAPTED AS A CHRISTIAN CHURCH

where martyrs made a good confession by not offering incense.

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The floor of the chamber was often of costly material, perhaps glass mosaic, and would represent the "sea," while the decoration of the arched entrance or ceiling may have been the "rainbow."

We do not see the necessity for a concrete basis for such imagery as that of S. John, the most probable reason being that the imaginative work of the great Christian painters has helped to dissociate in our minds the concrete procedure of the Church militant on earth from the assembly of the Lord of Hosts. But we must remember that Christians of the first centuries were uninfluenced by Christian art, difficult though it is to realize that matters which now contribute to the very fibre of life were non-existent to a past generation.

If to any the connection between the ancient domestic architecture of Southern Europe and the Levant with the disposition of an Eucharistic assembly, and with a common origin for a college or convent cloister and the nave of a Gothic church seems far-fetched, let him consider the connections traced by Mr. Baring Gould between primitive hive-shaped dwellings and the wood oven of a farmhouse kitchen, or between an ancient Norse house and a four-post bed. The ancient house, which was a hall with a central table and sleeping recesses round it like a ship's berth is practically identical with a yacht's cabin. These matters have no bearing on Christian ecclesiology, but they do testify to the persistence of traditional forms and the unoriginality of our common human nature.

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NOTE B ON RIVAL SCHOOLS OF CEREMONIAL

There is one evil in the Liturgical Revival, which one would be glad to pass over, if it were not for its potentiality for quite unnecessary mischief. I mean the formation of the two tiresome sub-parties to which the names of "Rome" and "Sarum" are commonly attached, and the atmosphere of "let's pretend," which is generated by both schools of correctitude. It is, perhaps, best to follow the history of the Revival to understand this amazing matter.

In the beginning an unsophisticated attempt was made to revive the generically Western Ceremonial which belongs as much to the English as the Latin Rite. In those days the fashion of everything must be Gothic, and they followed the fashion. But the English Rite and the Ornaments Rubric give little help with details, so it was assumed that modern Continental usage did not differ materially from Pre-Reformation insular practice, and they took it as a guide: it was ready to hand and practical. Such a procedure has about it a manifest good sense, and its lack of correctitude is a great safeguard against pedantry. Perhaps as regards Ceremonial this is as much as need be said, except for the following points.

It is natural that we should, in our revived Ceremonial, desire to give expression to our claim of identity with our fellow-Christians on the Continent, for the Church of Christ is meant to

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be one universal or cosmopolitan Society, and yet the nations are to come in to it, and that various nations are not identical in temperament. It follows that the practice of the Church must be universal and uniform in outline, with variations in detail. But when we carry this conformity to the extent of a scrupulous obedience to regulations of petty details by the Congregation of Rites, we make ourselves ridiculous ; and when we are ashamed of our naturally-expressed national character, so that anything “ English ” is to be apologized for, we are in danger of fouling our own nest, which is a grave crime against Christian good breeding. An Islander is living in an unreal and unwholesome world when he pretends to be a Continental, and is a stumbling block to many who should be drawn to the uplifted Christ.

On the other hand, it is natural and right that, being English, we should not be ashamed of our nationality and lawful provincial usages ; but it is evil that these should be over emphasized, especially if these things are allowed to minister to the spirit which, while it covets the colour and pageantry of worship, yet nurses the spirit of an excessive and anti-Catholic insularity, particularly when it is pretended that the Gothic fashions of the fifteenth century are distinctively English. It is pedantic to condemn as “ incorrect ” those who put altar candles on a shelf, or cut-flowers in pots with water to keep them fresh, or who decorate linen with lace, because such was not the fashion of a given year in the sixteenth century. It is wicked as well as ridiculous to accuse of perjury (!) to his Ordination

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Vows a Priest who uses a Chalice veil. If we are to pretend that the English Ceremonial tradition has never broken down we must not pretend that it has remained unaffected by Renaissance influences, especially as the traditions that did survive surrendered wholly to them if Sir Christopher Wren may be believed to have built churches. But a contemporary who pretends that there is an unbroken English tradition which has been unaffected by anything since 1548 is living in an unreal and unwholesome world, and is a stumbling block to many who should be drawn to Christ. His fashions may be in the better taste, and no doubt in many ways are so; but taste is not law, and there are poor people whose tastes are tawdry who have souls to be saved, and in so far as the manners and fashions of the opposite party are a reaction from pedantry, they are good and wholesome, especially where they spring from the sense of humour, which is at least as necessary and as "saving" in the sphere of religion as in any other department of life. Where the reaction is without this sense the responsibility for any follies and excesses which may accompany it must be divided.

Truly, those of the older generation were wiser than we, in that they were content to revive the generically Western Ceremonial of the contemporary English Rite, which is the Prayer Book Rite and not the Sarum Edition of the Latin Rite, and to leave a new uniform tradition in minor details to grow up spontaneously, as it would have done in an atmosphere of broad-minded patience and good humour.

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NOTE C ON LEGAL AND CEREMONIAL CONTINUITY IN THE CHURCH IN ENGLAND

One of my principal aims in this book is to press the necessity of getting away from the legal conception of discipline, and adopting a more military model of organised co-operation and intelligent adaptation of means to end—in which ceremonial has a real relation to unity.

But unity is not a matter only of universal inter-communion in times present, but also of continuity with times past, and for this purpose the *fact* of the continuity of the Canon Law is of positive value, especially for ourselves among whom the continuity of living usage has been weakened by slovenly desuetude.

This continuity of law Henry VIII tried to break, his object being to continue the old liturgical tradition on a new basis, and that Erastian. But a clause was inserted in one of the Acts of his reign, whereby the State assented “ that such canons, constitutions, ordinances and synodals provincial being already made, which be not contrariant nor repugnant to the laws, statutes and customs of this realm, nor to the damage or hurt of the King’s prerogative royal, shall more still be used and executed as they were afore the making of this act, till such time as they be viewed, searched, ordered and determined by the said two-and-thirty persons, or the more part of them, according to the tenor form and effect of this present Act.” (25 Henry VIII, cap. 19, repealed by 1 and 2 Philip and Mary, cap. 8,

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and revived by 1 Elizabeth, cap. 1, from "Gee and Hardy.")

As the said two-and-thirty persons never did view, search, order, and determine the matter, it came about that commissioners appointed by William IV, three quarters of a century ago, reported that: "In addition to the Pontifical law there must be enumerated the constitutions passed in this country by the Pope's legates, Otho and Othobon, and the archbishops and bishops assembled in national councils in 1237 and 1268; and a further body of constitutions framed in provincial synods under the authority of successive Archbishops of Canterbury, from Stephen Langton in 1222 to Archbishop Chichley in 1414, and adopted by the Province of York in the reign of Henry VI" (from the *Law Times*, Oct. 22nd, 1898). So that whereas the intention of the English Reformation was the old Liturgy on a new basis, the event was a new Liturgy on the old basis.

The specific matters dealt with in these canons may not matter, but the mere dates referred to make this an interesting and valuable witness to continuity: we may take an example—

"The rubrics of Edward VI (either Prayer Book) do not so much as refer to candles burning on the Altar"; but the canon law "threw the burden of providing the candles and candlesticks on the parishioners. And to this day the canons imposing them remain in force." So says the author of the Article in the *Law Times* above referred to, whose witness is impartial as he is evidently antagonistic to the law which he enunciates. Even if the burden is no

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longer binding because of the abolition of Church rates in the nineteenth century, the burden only goes in company with that of providing the bread and wine for the Eucharist as ordered in the present Liturgy.

And this law, which is a fact of continuity, may perhaps afford opportunities for the promotion of unity, for the same unsympathetic authority tells us that "Anglicans are at liberty to pick out whatever canon suits them, be it five hundred or a thousand years old."

Cosin's first series of notes on the Prayer Book deals with the same matter in commenting on the preamble "Of Ceremonies." It says—

"Those which make so perilous a matter of our retaining these ceremonies common to us with the Church of Rome, do seem to imagine that we have of late erected a frame of some new religion, the furniture whereof we should not have borrowed from our enemies, lest they relieving us should afterwards laugh at our poverty: whereas in truth we have continued the old religion, and the ceremonies which we have taken from them that are before us are not things which belong to this or that sect, but they are the ancient Rites and Customs of the Church of Christ, whereof ourselves being a part, we have the self-same interest in them which our fathers had before us, from whom the same descended to us."

CHAPTER VII

THE DEADLOCK

WE have now followed the history of a great and remarkable movement of theological and liturgical revival, and have, I think, *demonstrated* its anti-sectarian and unifying purpose and motive, and also that the importance of the movement for the world is that the Anglican Communion exhibits the distinctive feature of deliberately refusing to be regarded as the whole Universal Church, and has a geographical distribution which must help to bring that fact into prominence. How is it then that such a movement has produced an appearance of chaos and a real deadlock in ecclesiastical discipline ?

As regards chaos, it suffices that no body or organisation of men can pass from the passive order or at least stillness of sleep to one of wakefulness and activity without a transition state of some confusion. We will therefore confine our attention to the deadlock, the responsibility for which must be divided between those who have claimed the right to exercise disciplinary restraint and

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those who have offered a stubborn resistance to the attempted discipline.

Complaints are made of the self-will and insistence on their own way of which the resisters have often been accused. Let us accept for the resisters this tenacity in their own way, and let us make some admissions. Let us admit that men have fought for their own way in details in which they have been wrong or in matters which seen in perspective are not worth fighting about, and that in the course of the resistance there have been manifestations of self-will, and even of a certain insolence. But there still remains a certain unity and solidarity in the resistance and a consciousness of a unifying and anti-sectarian purpose in what is being done ; and the obvious inference is that the attempted disciplinary restraint is either in the matter of it or in the manner of it subversive of that purpose and therefore to be resisted to the end. Let us analyse the strange phenomenon that a body of *intransigent* maintainers of Episcopacy "refuse" (as is alleged) "to obey their Bishops."

All admit that a Bishop has Authority, but what authority? For he is not an irresponsible despot. To whom then must a

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Bishop of the Church of England answer for what he does—to Christ and His Kingdom, or to King and Parliament? ¹ Now it is an evident fact that if a Bishop speak in the name of Christ the so-called recalcitrants will do their best to obey him : the limits which they even then set to their obedience, or rather compliance, will be touched on later. But when a Bishop calls upon them to conform to Parliamentary Acts of Uniformity, or to the judicial decisions of him whom Parliament says is to be deemed to be the Dean of Arches, his demands are ignored. Indeed the whole history of ecclesiastical litigation has been an attempt to secure obedience to the decisions of State-made courts and to the body of case-law which is composed of those decisions, and of a consistent and successful resistance to the demand.

Thus various clergy were attached for contempt when they refused to conform to the orders of these courts ; but in the end they were released without purging their contempt. Mr. Mackonochie was suspended from his

¹ If the Bishop's authority has a Spiritual source it is manifestly objectionable that he should consent to answer interrogations from his place in Parliament at question time on the management of his Diocese.

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functions, and, when another cleric came to conduct Divine Service because by State decree he was excluded, that cleric was refused admission and Mr. Mackonochie's ministrations continued. When the Bishop of Lincoln's case came before the Privy Council, he refused to plead. And when information was laid before the recent Royal Commission, the answers of incriminated clergy to the effect that they recognised no authority in the Privy Council, or in any tribunal whose judge was held subject to its appellate jurisdiction and bound by the precedents set up by its previous decisions, were numerous. Such testimony could not be blinked, and so the Commissioners recommended the abolition of the appellate (and *soi disant*) jurisdiction of the Privy Council.¹

But the attempt to bring these matters under State control is not yet ended : persistent, though fruitless, efforts are still made to

¹ It is amazing that they should have so misunderstood what they saw as to suggest that the State should set up another authority in its place, as the whole force of resistance has been directed against tribunals deriving authority from the State. A court is a Spiritual Court when it is set up by spiritual authority, and not because those who sit in it happen to be spiritual persons ; otherwise a Petty Session would be a Spiritual Tribunal when there happened to be clergymen on the Bench !

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pass Church Discipline Bills through Parliament, which suggests that on this side also there is some definite aim. We have already seen, in the note on Church and State, that the State must probably always be jealous of what claims to be a sovereign authority outside itself and demands the obedience of men, but this is probably not the motive, for the Government of the day does not take the matter up. A confessed motive is the maintenance of the principles of the Reformation.

Now one effect of the Reformation was to break up Western Christendom, which had hitherto been one organic whole, into sections or churches each with its own "confession" or body of doctrine, dealing chiefly with points which were at that time the subject of live controversy, and in consequence of this a "confessional" rather than a status test of Church membership grew up. But it grew up on existing antecedents, among which was the mediæval confusion of Church and State, which resulted from the common general consent (except for the Jews) to a homogeneous organised Christianity. The reaction of these two facts on one another led to the divisions of Christendom following national

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boundaries, so that one nation became Anglican, and another Lutheran, and another Calvinist, and others consciously Ultramontane. It further largely depended on matters of State what side the people of any given country should take up. And it would naturally follow that where there was no spiritual authority geographically external to the State, the State itself should become the dominant authority.

But no social man is without some sort of *esprit de corps*, the school boy for his house, the undergraduate for his college, the soldier for his battalion, or even company, and the Catholic Christian for his own unit of the Church, whether parish, diocese or province. This spirit would under the new conditions develop into sectarian partizanship, and would coincide with race patriotism. The State thus becomes the natural upholder of sectarian distinctiveness.

Now the relation of Church to State in England from the time of the Reformation was essentially a concordat, for the Apostolic Ministry was continued. But the mediæval confusion of Church and State was complete in England, and the Church isolated, and so the fact that there was a concordat could be

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blinked, just as the existence of an Altar in a church full of high pews could be forgotten, and "National" Sect erroneously assumed to be the connotation of the term "Church of England."

But given such a stirring as the Oxford Movement and the recognition of the Apostolic descent of the ministry, and the connection of the Church in England with the Church outside England is obtruded, and, if accepted, the spirit of sectarian insularity must die out; and the only insular authority to keep the Church segregated, and to uphold the segregation a ground for pride rather than shame, is the State. And so the State is the only force which can be expected to preserve what are supposed to be the principles of the Reformation, but are really only *de facto* consequences—not on the credit side.¹

¹ The attempt at a High Church compromise is only a phenomenon of transition from a past age of captious insularity and actual physical isolation to the demand for the visible realization of unity. The ideal of the gamut of Catholic usage, on condition that it is "differenced," as heralds would say, at every point with the badge of insularity, and yet resting on the basis of Apostolic Succession, is not a permanent possibility. But it is true that traditional instincts and subconscious assumptions die hard. Also that reasonable *esprit de corps* must be saved, as it is necessary to self-respect.

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But man, and especially an Englishman, is a practical being, and is inclined to accept as an arbitrator anyone who will offer a practical settlement of a point in dispute, and it is doubtful whether there would have been such stubborn resistance to the quasi-ecclesiastical Courts of this Realm had there not been a doubt of the substantial truth and even *bona fides* of the judgments delivered.¹ No court or hearing can carry weight which is even suspected of bias, and the appeal to bow to a judgment once given, whether materially just or no, will never meet with a satisfactory response ; men will not endure an injustice simply because it is a *chose jugée*, as the recent history of the French Army sufficiently testifies.

The bias which has affected all judgments, which have turned on the interpretation of rubrics and other formal authority for ceremonial practice, has always been the conscious or more often subconscious acceptance of the national sectarian or insular conception of the Church of England, and the assumption that her formularies have been drafted with the specific object of maintaining that

¹ There is a well-known admission that a certain judgment was based on " policy, not law."

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insularity; this is the ground of the assumption that the rubrics of the Book of Common Prayer are exhaustive, and that anything therefore not mentioned by them is forbidden, or, in other words, that "omission is prohibition."

This last proposition has been treated as an axiom by all who have been concerned in the hearing and determination of liturgical disputes. It was the basis of the restrictions in Archbishop Benson's Lambeth Judgment, and in the informal but solemnly-pronounced opinions of the two Archbishops on the use of incense and the reservation of the Holy Sacrament. Now, however far these hearings may have fallen short of the formal authority of a court, they were not Erastian, and they would have gone very much farther than they have done towards settling genuine diversities of interpretation, had they not assumed as an axiom that omission is prohibition.

Omission may be prohibition, but those whose practices are arraigned do not believe it so to be, for they are aware that the practice of the Caroline Bishops was a contradiction of the axiom, and a judgment can never carry conviction to those who reject the axioms on which it is based.

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In the Lambeth pronouncement on incense, Archbishop Temple noted that it was maintained that the Ornaments Rubric allowed all the ornaments referred to to be used with the ceremonies for which they were used at the time referred to. This he declared to be a mistake, it only, he said, allowed the retention and use of ornaments connected with ceremonies prescribed explicitly in the rubrics of the Prayer Book. However, as the rubric of reference directs the retention *and use* of such ornaments as were on such a date and in such a schedule,¹ there seems at least *some* ground for believing the interpretation declared by the Archbishop to be mistaken, to be its true meaning. It should not be possible, therefore, to make the opposite assertion without defending it with reasons ; for, unless this proposition is defended, the argument of which it is the keystone is logically vitiated : the whole chain hangs, if the bull may be pardoned, on the broken link of an undemonstrated theorem, and therefore cannot bring home a conviction of its truth, but at most a patient obedience out of respect to him who maintains it.

¹ The authority of Parliament is for the present purpose simply a schedule.

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And so, since submission in the teeth of conviction, with the sense of injustice which must inevitably accompany it, is not peace, it follows that peace, which involves the glad mind of reasonable conviction when reasons are given for the course to be adopted, can never be attained through the authoritative interpretation of formularies *until it is recognised that this is the crux of the question, and the point is thoroughly argued out as such*. But perhaps peace and order, or, what is more to the purpose, the glad mind of effective fighting discipline necessary for warfare with the world, are not to be reached through the interpretation of formularies or through any judicial process.

But while this deadlock lasts the parish priest has still his work to do, and must go on somehow. The position is not an easy one, it demands a wider outlook and clearer realization of what he is doing as a contribution to the unity and consummation of all things than will always be found. What a priest whose heart is in the restoration of Christ's one Universal Church feels is that, while he has no responsibility¹ for those outside his parish, he is called upon to help his own people to

¹ This feeling is not true, as will be seen later.

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feel that their place in the parish is a place in the one Universal Church, that is, that the parish is a stone in the walls of Jerusalem, and for this end he must provide for them in their parish church a Catholic¹ atmosphere. How will he do it? He can do it by doing what the Church as a whole does. The truth of this is obvious. But under the circumstances the priest has to judge for himself as to what it is that the Church does do, and must settle for himself many details in the manner of doing it; and his judgment may be at fault.

There are certain practices which have found their way into isolated parishes, with the above motive, which the late Royal Commission enumerates and recommends that they should be promptly made to cease, on the ground that they are "clearly inconsistent with and subversive of the teaching of the Church of England." The Commissioners draw attention to an (alleged) "line of deep cleavage" between the above teaching and that of the Roman Communion. All the items are connected with Eucharistic practice. What are we to think of the pronouncement?

¹ I mean *truly* catholic: a sense of brotherhood in a universal society rather than an acceptance of a body of doctrine, true though the doctrine of course is.

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Dr. Gore contests the soundness of the doctrinal objection to Benediction in particular in his preface to the latest edition of "The Body of Christ." The Commissioners, as he says, themselves acknowledge that the teaching of Mr. Bennet is not external to Anglican limits, and Dr. Gore is sure that "Mr. Bennet's doctrine neither more nor less, affords a natural basis for these (devotionally) most attractive practices." The "line of deep cleavage" which the spirit of insularity or sectarian nationalism loves to maintain, and which a State-appointed commission is naturally inclined to assume, is disproved so far as Anglican and Latin expressions of Eucharistic doctrine are concerned.

But the Catholic Church does not rest on a doctrine, but is a co-ordinated Body vitalized by the Life of its Founder, so that the practices enumerated are not justified on being acquitted of heretical import.

Practices must be regulated by authority. Their introduction in isolated parishes is therefore symptomatic of the difficulties which result from the state of deadlock at which we have arrived. But one practice from the Commissioners' black list will suffice to illustrate my meaning, and it is one of great

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importance, because it concerns the actual administration of the Sacraments to the people, and because the breach of order is of frequent occurrence : I mean the celebration of the Eucharist when there are none to communicate with the Priest. The Commissioners only speak of a deliberate intention to have no communicants, but let that pass, and let us state the situation.

A Priest is sent into a parish to have "cure of souls." This means that he is to bring them into the membership of Christ, the sonship of God, and the inheritance of the Kingdom of Heaven. To this end he must bring to Baptism such as have not been christened by his predecessors. Then he must promote the continuance of all in that holy fellowship and the doing of all such good works as God has prepared for them to walk in. To this end he must communicate the assistance of God's grace by the due administration of the spiritual food of the most precious Body and Blood of God's dear Son. Also, the focus of the service of God in good works is to be provided in the weekly assembly in which in the Breaking of Bread the Lamb stands in the midst as it had been slain. And this work *has to go on*, whatever may be

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happening in the higher spheres of ecclesiastical politics. But further—

In the doing of these things there are rules for the guidance of both priest and people. A rite is provided for the ministration of Baptism, and sponsors are to stand for the child. A Liturgy also is provided for the celebration of the Eucharist. The people are required to communicate three times in the year at least of which Easter is to be one, and are to give notice of their intention on the occasions when they intend to communicate, at least some time the day before. The priest is to refuse those who are notorious evil livers, or between whom malice and hatred reign. He is also to make himself accessible for ministering the benefit of absolution together with ghostly counsel and advice to such as need his help in preparing for Holy Communion and desire to open their griefs. The Eucharist is to be celebrated in the general assembly of the faithful, who are then to be instructed in God's Holy Word by a Sermon or Homily, and are then to be informed of Holy Days, Fasting Days, impending marriages, citations, excommunications, and all the social concerns of God's disciplined family; and those who are to communicate are

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to do so in the presence of this assembly, for the rubrics before and after the invitation, "Ye that do truly, etc.," assume that the then intending communicants are not co-extensive with the congregation. There is to be no celebration of the Lord's Supper, unless there be "a convenient number" to communicate with the Priest, according to his discretion.¹

This is the scheme, and it is connected and intelligible. Sponsors guarantee that the child will be brought up a Christian. The notice of intention to communicate gives the priest opportunity of refusing the unfit without the scandal of their being passed over at the Altar rail ; it also gives opportunity for letting those who wish to communicate know in good time when there is not sufficient company, so that they are not subject to the disappointment of coming to church prepared, only to be sent empty away. On the other hand the requirement of communicants should tend to promote a public opinion in favour of

¹ The words, "according to his discretion," seem to make this rubric one permitting the priest to refrain from celebrating rather than forbidding him to do so : but let that pass ; we will assume for our purpose that the prohibitory interpretation is correct.

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frequent communion, for when communicants are not forthcoming the parish finds itself under an interdict. Also communion is not to be separated from the general assembling of the faithful or instruction in God's Word or social and disciplinary business.

But the whole of this system has broken down, the only vestige of an attempt is a half-hearted effort in some places to require a minimum of communicants under conditions which (the rule being divorced from the system of which it forms part) make it intolerable and unreasonable. These conditions are that as no one gives notice the day before, intending communicants may be sent away even though they have made considerable sacrifice in order to be present and receive. The only explanation of this fact is that these directions form part of a mode of government which is psychologically wrong ; the machinery may be admirable, but the motive power is ineffective. It is the mistake of expecting a social system to spring into being by fiat, and being so sanguine of success as to give no directions as to how to proceed when any part of the mechanism breaks down.

In this connection it seems probable that both the rule requiring three communions a

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year and the presence of intending communicants at every Mass as a condition of its celebration are on psychological grounds especially wrong ; not because frequency of communion and the communion of the faithful at all Masses¹ are undesirable, but because human nature is so constituted that these means will not bring it about. In the first place the rules under discussion are for exacting a minimum of what the French call practice from the careless and indifferent. In the matter of communion collective experience has led the whole Church, East and West alike, to insist on the Easter communion only, but to make that obligation unmistakable. To add an obligation of two more communions at times not defined defeats its own end, as it lowers the sense of obligation to rule, and has in fact so lowered it in England that an immense number of professing Church-people never communicate at all.

The fundamental unwisdom of making the presence of communicants a condition of permitting the Eucharist to be celebrated is that it makes the careless, against whom the rule is directed, set the standard. The less they care the rarer the sacramental uplifting of

¹ *Id quod optat ecclesia.* Council of Trent.

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Christ will be, and so the very means by which they should be drawn to Him are taken away, and even the standard of the more devout is lowered.¹ Here again the collective experience of East and West in dealing with the careless is that it is better to endure the absence of the people than that the Sacrifice should be intermitted.² Moreover, when the Eucharist is always proceeded with at the times appointed, there is none of that unsettlement which helps so much to the deterioration of the careless, and which must occur when its celebration is made an uncertain contingency. As it happens, the rule in the Prayer Book, or what is commonly assumed to be the rule, *cannot* be worked unless there is foreknowledge, which cannot be had while the rule of previous

¹ It is as if when they will not drink of the waters of grace themselves, they are made to foul those waters so that others cannot drink.

² And so thought the writer of the first series of notes in Bishop Cosin's book as well as his "lord and master, Dr. Overall." And it is a noteworthy fact that, while this method as adopted by Latin Christendom has produced a standard of communion more frequent than the great majority of Anglican Churches even now give opportunity for, the other method reduced the normal standard to three or four Eucharists for a parish in a year, and there were not a few places where its celebration had never been known.

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notice is in abeyance.¹ We have no equitable course open to us except to celebrate at the times when we have promised to do so, and to keep the implied unconditional promise to communicate all eligible persons who present themselves.

Under these circumstances the parish priest, who has to go on caring for souls, would, did he set the letter of the law as to method above the essential purpose for which (with the best intentions but an unfortunate academic aloofness from human nature) it was drafted, soon bring the corporate religious life of his parish to a complete standstill. What has in fact been done in such cases is to try and do the essential work; by taking some care about the surroundings of children brought to Baptism; by teaching people to love God's Altar and prepare devoutly for communion, and as the rule of notice cannot be enforced, giving communion at the hours promised to those who come without reference; to those who do not, by teaching that the lower form of Eucharistic assistance, called "non-communicating attendance," is good in its degree, and never sending worshippers away because

¹ Where it will remain until the laity are *compelled* to obey. Who is going to compel them?

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no communicants are present ;¹ and by being ready to hear confessions. By such means a living system of devotion has been built up in many parishes, out of very dry bones. Yet a priest who has done such a work may be told that no doubt it is very good, but "the law must be obeyed." If he point out that the law will break up the devotional life of a community, still the law must be obeyed. And the law whose observance is pressed is not the whole co-ordinated system which is intelligible and devised for the carrying on of a truly Catholic practice of life, and which would work so well if only human nature were a little different and the careless and lukewarm would take rubrics seriously, but one single point whose observance makes for local distinctiveness.

¹ When the priest *knows* who intend to communicate, and who do not, which is hardly ever the case. Moreover this is a matter in which the priest himself requires some consideration. If he is never to celebrate without the rubrical company, he will in a small country parish be excommunicated, perhaps for months, in a state of isolation where he is very liable to spiritual deterioration. It must be remembered that he is not carrying on an established procedure among practising Churchmen, but a mission among the ignorant, careless, and prejudiced.

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Can it be wondered at that the attempt to enforce, not the law but only so much of it as helps to maintain for the Church of England the appearance of a national (or now perhaps an Imperial or pan-Anglican) sect, by judges appointed by a Parliament to whom Christ gave no authority in the matter, who adopt as axiomatic a canon of interpretation of whose falsity those whose conduct is called in question are, whether rightly or wrongly, firmly convinced, coupled with the mediæval tradition of procedure by lawsuit, which reduces the functions of a Bishop to his routine duties and the prosecution of ecclesiastical law-breakers, and with the paralysing effects of the party system, has brought about a complete deadlock? And such a deadlock is a disaster, for it makes any co-ordination of effort, and so the work for Christian unity, hopeless.

At least it would be hopeless were there not a more excellent way, one more analogous to the discipline of an army than to lawyers' disputations,¹ and that a way in which some have already begun to walk.

¹ The Christian life is often compared with that of a soldier: never, so far as I am aware, with that of a litigant.

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NOTE A ON OMISSION AND PROHIBITION

The following extract from the *Law Times* for 22nd October, 1898, is interesting as an estimate from the driest legal standpoint, by a writer evidently out of sympathy with the "Ritualists" whose legal position he considers, and, from the manner in which he speaks of vestments and ornaments, ignorant of Ecclesiology. He says—

"The rubrics of Edward VI do not so much as refer to candles burning on the altar. There is not one positive law abrogating, though there are positive laws enjoining their use, and therefore, *by the invariable rule of construction* that one positive law can be repealed only by another equally certain positive law, the Ritualists are safe in using as many lighted candles as they can afford.

* * * * *

"They (*i.e.*, the 'Ritualists') bedeck the altar with costly cloths curiously wrought, and their priests with a variety of costly vestments. These fall within the legal provisions made for 'the furniture' of the church and priests, and are expressly settled by 1 Eliz. c. 2, s. 25, which reads thus: 'Such ornaments of the church and of the ministers thereof shall be retained and be in use as was in this Church of England by authority of Parliament in the second year of the reign of King Edward VI.' It must be borne in mind that 'the authority of Parliament' in the second of Edward was still preserved in favour of canon law; and, more than this, Elizabeth says the ornaments shall be such as were used then, *but she does not say none*

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other shall be used. It is a remarkable fact that while as to prescribed words of 'open prayer' those enjoined are to be used, and 'none other or otherwise,' yet no such exclusion of other things exists in respect of rites, ceremonies, or ornaments. Here some are prescribed, but 'others or otherwise' are not interdicted. The Ritualists avail themselves of this fatal omission in the law, and exultingly say : 'We use those plain ornaments which statute law has enjoined, and we take the liberty law has superinduced to make such additions as pre-existing canons have prescribed.' For instance, as to the ministers : the canon of Winchelsey, A.D. 1305, prescribes 'the principal vestment,' *i.e.*, the best cope for the most solemn holy days, 'with a chasible,' the garment next under the cope (*sic*) ; 'a dalmatic,' the deacon's garment ; 'a tunic,' the sub-deacon's garment ; 'a choral cope' for the priest who sang the hours, 'with all its appendages,' *viz.*, the amyt, alb, girdle, maniple, and stole ; 'three surplices,' one each for priest, deacon, and sub-deacon. All these vestments parishioners may be called upon to provide. Or the priest may fall back upon a much older law than this of 1305, and, according to the law of A.D. 957, provide his own books and vestments. Edward VI did not abrogate either of these laws when he prescribed that the priest should wear 'a plain alb or surplice with a cope,' seeing that not one word is used by him as to what vestments shall not be worn. So as to the altar furniture. The same rule of law applies as to the construction of Edward VI's rubric, when he speaks of the Communion Table having on it 'a fair white linen cloth.'

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But this provision does not supersede the things prescribed by this very canon of 1305. By it the altar was to be furnished with a 'frontal,' a square piece of linen cloth covering the altar and hanging down from it ; 'a censer ;' a decent veil for Lent ; banners for Rogation days ; 'an osculatory,' or tablet, with a picture of Christ, the Virgin, or the like, which the priest kissed, and gave to the people for the same purpose ; 'a candlestick for the taper ;' and 'the chief image in the chancel.' All these the parishioners were, and still are, bound to provide. They have never been abolished as ornaments, although they may have fallen into disuse in some places since the Reformation, but they have never been swept away."

The value of this opinion is, of course, enhanced by the spirit of antagonism to the conclusions to which reasoning brings the writer. I personally dislike legalism. It is for those who like and appeal to it to consider the force of this extract. The italics in these quotations are mine.

NOTE B ON THE MASS OF THE PRE-SANCTIFIED AND ON BENEDICTION

Both these functions come on the black list of the Royal Commission. They obtain only in a few isolated parishes. Yet the motives for their introduction are not uninstrusive.

If Benediction is to be condemned, it is not on doctrinal grounds ; Dr. Gore has established that point. The functions which centre in the Tabernacle and the Monstrance follow quite naturally from what

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the Bennet Judgment declared, and the Commissioners admitted, to be legitimate Anglican teaching. To those who accept the doctrine of the Real Presence, such practices are devotionally attractive. But Benediction is not a liturgical service, either in the Roman or Anglican Communion, any more than is a flower service. It therefore cannot rightly be adopted without express sanction by the Diocesan, and in the Roman Communion this sanction is always asked for, but is not, I believe, always granted. There might be an end of the matter were there not felt to be reasons why at least great restraint should be exercised in these usages. The ground is that the collective wisdom of the Church Catholic knows best what is good for man, and has instituted, besides the Lord's Supper or Mass, which is of divine appointment, the exercise of the Psalter or choir office, which we call the "Common Prayers." And it is probably better for our souls that we should adhere to these classic exercises than follow after more sentimental devotions. Personally I feel the truth of this contention so strongly that I am hindered from feeling the popular rites devotionally attractive. But I must ask my readers to be quite sure before they agree with my reasons, because no one can use a conclusion when it leads to consequences which he likes, and reject it when it leads to consequences which he does not like.

To turn to the Mass of the Pre-sanctified. This rite consists essentially of the ante-Communion or "Table Prayers," followed by Communion with the Reserved Sacrament. No doctrinal issue whatever is involved, except the validity and legitimacy of

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Communion with the Reserved Sacrament, which we need not discuss : for the question is not one of doctrine, but of the special observance of Good Friday, or rather of Holy Week generally.

The ordinary routine of Christian worship and the use of the Sacraments has one drawback, it tends to lose its effect by repetition and to become formal. Its dominant note also is access to God and the gift of grace in the Liturgy, that is the sacrificial and sacramental aspects of the Eucharist. Human nature demands a break in this routine, and the time for it is Holy Week, which makes the break by directing attention to Our Lord's Passion as the price which paid for that reunion of God and man, of which the normal Liturgy is the ceremonial expression.

The Nineteenth Century movements have revived the Englishman's appreciation of colour and pageantry. Quite recently we have been familiarised with a pageant as a concrete function intermediate between a play and a procession in commemoration of past achievements, the parts in which are taken by members of the civic community whose past achievements are commemorated. A pageant is therefore an event of considerable effect on social life.

Now the Church has instinctively interwoven a series of ceremonies, of which the details have varied, into the liturgical services of Holy Week, which ceremonies are essentially a pageant. For the matter of the following brief account of this pageant, as it exists in modern Latin Christendom, I am indebted to a friend who has lived abroad and in the

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Roman Communion. The Mass of the Pre-sanctified is in this series as the adaptation of the Liturgy which provides the Good Friday "episode": it cannot therefore be considered apart from its context. The series is as follows—

(1) The distribution and procession of palms on Palm Sunday.

(2) Three days' teaching in the Temple, typified by the absence of special ceremonies.

(3) The *one* solemn observance of the Lord's Supper (in white vestments) on the Thursday in which all clergy, as well as others, communicate with the celebrant. After "the Supper" the Sacrament is deposited and the church denuded. Later, a dignitary, where he may be had, washes the feet of poor men or children.

(4) On Good Friday the Mass of the Pre-sanctified consisting of (a) Table Prayers or Ante-Communion with S. John's account of the Passion (chanted in parts in large churches) for the Gospel. (b) The unveiling of the Altar Crucifix (a large realistic one is used) followed by its veneration, that is, the homage of the people to Our Lord as crucified addressed through this presentation of Him. No special virtue is superstitiously attributed to the material crucifix. (c) The bringing in of the Sacrament, the dramatic effect of which is that of the *Ecce Homo*, for the Communion of the Celebrant only.

(5) On Holy Saturday a series of events which make a pageant in themselves—

(a) The new fire and erection of the Paschal Candle.

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- (b) Table Prayers of Easter Eve, consisting of many lessons.
- (c) The blessing of the Font and Baptisms.
- (d) The Litany.
- (e) The first Mass of Easter. The Celebrant alone communicating.

This should really come in the Easter night, but is "anticipated."

There are no celebrations of Mass, other than those which occur in the pageant on the last three days, which typifies the cessation of the sacrifice in the midst of the week (Dan. xii. 11) ; and my friend tells me that when the same priest is, as he should be, Celebrant throughout, one instinctively identifies him with Our Lord. His Communion effects this, and on the last two days, he communicates alone, as our Lord trod the winepress alone.

We have already seen that the common arrangements of the whole Church as regards discipline and ceremonies show some appreciation of the psychology of human nature. And therefore we English in letting this pageant go have probably lost something, especially something of necessary social feeling for the Church of God and our Founder's achievement. And mark the Nemesis, we must have *some* dramatization, and so it comes to pass that the "Three Hours'" preaching has practically placed the liturgical order for Good Friday altogether on a siding. Nothing is commoner in newspaper reports than to be told that in many of the churches of the Metropolis (*e.g.*) this function "stood out as the principal event of the day's observances."

It may be said that it is pedantry to object to it

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on the ground that it is non-liturgical. But it is not a matter of pure pedantry; the value of a "Three Hours" is dependent on the personal equation of the conductor. It may be most edifying, or it may be an exhibition of chamber-of-horrors realism in the contemplation of the physical sufferings of Our Lord, and a morbid and not always reverent dissection of the psychology of His Passion, which ministers to a sensual sense of horror and humanitarian commiseration, to the exclusion of penitence and the forgetting of the achievement which the old pageant brings into such prominence. The fact that the "Three Hours" directs attention to Our Lord's words at the very time when they were uttered lends itself to this abuse; and the extent to which it has this unwholesome effect in any individual is probably proportionate to the physical sense of relief which he experiences when he hears the clock strike three.

Of the "legality" of the pageant for our use, I would prefer to say nothing, but such a pageant has a traditional right to some modification of the rubrics of ordinary routine, indeed therein lies a large part of its value. Also Table Prayers are a Prayer Book service, and the special ceremonies involve only the use of ornaments referred to in *the* rubric. Moreover (this is for strict legalists) the constitutions of Arundel (1408), which are still Church of England law, and are acknowledged so to be by Act of Parliament, say, "Let all henceforth preach up the veneration of the Cross," a practice which no one can object to who has ever kissed the photograph of lover, kinsman, or friend, or has laid

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primroses at the feet of Lord Beaconsfield's image, or offered like homage at the statue of any public character, or has been an accessory of others who have done so.

So much would not have been said about the Passion pageant, whose significance is evangelical, not dogmatic, were it not for its import for social devotion and the psychological necessity for an annual break in the liturgical routine, in order that that also may be kept alive, for it has the same import. Were it not for the deadlock, the matter might be wisely regulated.

CHAPTER VIII

THE WAY OUT

THE deadlock in discipline, as a lawyer conceives of it, is complete, for not only is there the administrative deadlock spoken of in the last chapter, but also the legislative. But this lawyers' extremity is the Bishops' opportunity ; if they were simultaneously to lay claim to Apostolic leadership and call on men and women to do the work for Christ which they set them, the response would be surprising. For it is a fact that the men who make the most stubborn and effective resistance¹ when driven, are found to be the most responsive, efficient and trustworthy of supporters when led. Will the Bishops openly declare for and lead the great anti-sectarian uprising ?

It may be said that this uprising is a party movement, and that a Bishop is set over the Diocese, and not over a party in it. That is true, and it is a truth with which no Catholic minded man can quarrel. The Church is

¹ Efforts have been made to drive the Catholic "party" for seventy years. Who runs may read the result.

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broad enough as the One Shepherd planned it for the one Fold to accommodate the whole of His flock. But however broad a Church may be it must have definitely ascertainable principles, and it is necessary that a Bishop, if his real function be that of a leader in a militant community, should actively uphold those principles, even though he be involved in at least the appearance of taking sides. But, considering that, so long as this world lasts, the spirit of Christ and the spirit of the world must form the *nexūs* of antagonistic parties, and that, where two parties in a Church are in fundamental opposition, the *nexus* of one of them must be the spirit of the world¹ however cunningly disguised, a Bishop under such circumstances must either take sides or abdicate his essential functions of leadership: and such partizanship is nothing to be ashamed of, for it does not necessitate him who so takes sides becoming a vulgar party man. However, be that as it may, the

¹ It might conceivably be the spirit of both, Satan divided against Satan: but I do not see how, if the division is really fundamental, the spirit of Christ can animate both, as He cannot be divided against Himself. The spirit of Christ may animate *individuals* in both camps, but that is another matter entirely.

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deadlock gives the Bishop a great opportunity of breaking through the red tape of lawyers' traditions and precedents in order to release the deadlock, and one of the first tasks which the opportunity presents is to deal with the party system. How ?

In many cases party cleavage may be healed by the moderating influence of a leader who is above party. But, where the cleavage goes down to fundamentals, the leader cannot avoid taking sides. A vulgar party man will so lead the party he espouses as, if possible, to triumph over opponents, aiming at a mere partizan triumph. But a leader can take sides without doing this : when the division is fundamental and the root principle of right is on one side, that side is only a party by reason of the accident of opposition, and the opposition will seldom be homogeneous or the antagonism of its constituents whole-hearted. This considerably diminishes the difficulties of the leader who takes the side of sound principle. By taking that side he can win its confidence, and prune away the accidents of base partizanship which it is quite capable of developing, and by so doing, and by finding the points of positive contact in opponents, he will break up the

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opposition as a party, and, with time and patience, win it over, at least piecemeal.

Such work, however, involves an understanding of the true centres of party gravity in the Church, and the analysis of the situation which has been involved in my task has led to the conclusion that the conventional party labels "High," "Low," and "Broad" do not represent the truth; I do not think it can even be said that the labels will serve, but that those to whom they are tied are wrongly classified, and so I will suggest a new classification into two parties, the Catholic and the Nationalist, and the remaining non-party men whom I propose to call the "Evangelicals." In this group are to be found many so-called Broad Church preachers of eminence, those whose enthusiasm centres in the Church Missionary Society, and a certain number of Ritualists; these being non-party men, will ultimately find their place in the Catholic Movement, just as the work of Maurice and Kingsley has been caught up in it, on account of that movement's fundamentally anti-sectarian character, and no more therefore need be said about them.¹

¹ The essential attribute of the "Evangelical" seems to me to be that his vision is limited to his own works,

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The Nationalist party is composed of those who claim to be moderate or non-party men, and it is a paradox that the position should be so essentially sectional and therefore partizan. Its origin is presumably in the sectional conception of Churches differentiated by their Confessions, which resulted from the Reformation, and which happened to be largely conterminous with the boundaries of Civil States.

In the Church of England this conception has been fostered by the fact that England

the delivery of his evangel or message to those to whom he is sent. He takes little or no interest in the relation of his task to larger groupings and movements and is intolerant of any outside direction or restraint whose aim (the aim may be good or bad) is to "bring him into line" with other forces. The so-called Broad Churchman's message is to intellectuals, and his habitat the West end; the Low Churchman's is pre-eminently to the unbaptized, and his chief activities are *in partibus*; and the third sub-category are slum-ritualists, of whom the typical representative is the late Father Dolling. In practice I suppose that no Churchman is a *pure* Evangelical any more than there are any absolutely consistent Erastian Nationalists.

It is worthy of note that the central truth of Christ the Saviour should be so presented to those who have not heard of Him that it stands clear of all detail, while the means of reunion, the Gospel of the Sacraments, is preached to those who have heard but have forgotten. Also that the missionary Low Churchman has no dealings with the Protestant organizations.

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is an island, and it has been consolidated and recruited by antagonism to the anti-sectarian and anti-national character of the Catholic Revival. It accidentally includes many whose real sympathies are Catholic, but who are repelled by what seem to them, not always without reason, the excesses and absurdities of members of the Catholic movement. But the party is not really consolidated or consistent : no one could, I suppose, hold in all its naked simplicity that the Church of England is the best of competing denominations in the world, and that for that reason it is good to think that it has spread over so much of the world, and either to hope that it may become universal by survival of the fittest ; or that, so long as a nation or Empire can all be brought into one Church, it does not matter what sort of church it is or whether it has any relation to the church or churches in other countries ; if indeed such an ideal does not mean that such a church should be careful to lay stress on and to preserve its distinctiveness. Yet, as I have tried to show, this is the motive that must underlie the instinct which insists on obedience to the law where the law makes for distinctiveness, while letting the rest of the law fall into desuetude. It also

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lies at the bottom of the demand for "loyalty to the Church of England," a phrase detestable and unjustifiable, if its real meaning is grasped, to the Catholic mind, unless it be carefully guarded and explained.

But no one, not even the National party as a whole, adheres strictly to such a position ; it cannot, if it acknowledges any authority outside England, and it does still acknowledge some authority in Christ, and would, I suppose, reject the proposition that the substitution of lions and unicorns for crucifixes on the rood-screens of our churches is a true and exhaustive emblem of the difference between the Church of England before and after the Reformation.

A church cannot at the same time be a Christian church and a lion and unicorn organization. The same objector cannot consistently advance against the teaching of another that it transgresses the Vincentian canon,¹ and that it is inconsistent with the

¹ *Quod Semper, Quod ubique quod ab omnibus.* It has been pointed out that the common Anglican use of this canon, which would make it restrict the term Catholic to what can stand this test, is not justified, but that it asserts the absolutely indisputable catholicity of that which does stand it, that is to say, that it enunciates a *minimum*, not a *maximum*. But our imaginary objector would assume the *maximum* interpretation.

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(distinctive¹) doctrines of the Church of England, because the first is the objection of a Catholic, and the second of a sectarian. No one again can maintain any such change at the Reformation as to have made the Church of England a mere national sect, and yet claim continuity on a Church Defence platform, for the continuity there claimed is such that the post-Reformation Church of England would satisfy the intentions of the pre-Reformation benefactor. Yet if one thing is certain it is that the old endowments were meant for the one comprehensive Catholic Church in England, and not for a National Sect. Yet all these inconsistent pleas are made in the name of the Nationalist "Centre," which is therefore certainly not homogeneous.

The *nexus* of this party is principally negative, but I think it has some positive bond in the general feeling that a National Church is a good thing. This does not mean "a Particular National Church" in the strict scholastic sense in which the term is used in the Articles, but a religious body whose practice is the standard religion of the nation,

¹ The word "distinctive" is sometimes used, and more often implied in this objection.

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and in which every citizen has some sort of part by reason of his citizenship. The conception¹ does not take definite shape, or it would land us in a position quite incompatible with the supreme authority of Christ, or of the Church as anything more than a National Sect, for it conceives of a man being a member of the Church of England who is not a member of the Church Catholic, for many British subjects are unbaptized.

The importance of this Nationalist attitude is that it leads to the opinion that establishment is a cardinal good. It also leads to the idea that the Church must conform to the wishes of the nation²; the nation must like the Church in order to keep it established. Now the only conceivable value of a National Church seems to me to be that it may tend to convert the nation or to keep it converted to the mind of God in matters which concern a nation as a whole—its marriage laws, for

¹ I distinctly remember gathering this conception of a national church from Archbishop Benson's speech at the Albert Hall against the Welsh Suspensory Bill; yet I am sure that he would not have acknowledged as a member of the Church of England one who was not a member of the Church Catholic.

² Bishop Creighton asserted this principle.

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example.¹ But this a Church which feels that it must conform to the wishes of the nation cannot do ; it cannot take the position of saying " Amen " to what the State does *and* rebuke it in God's name when it is wrong. For a church therefore to take this position is *propter vitam vivendi perdere causas* : which reduces the maintainers of such a church to the position that it is good that that Church should exist whether it has any *raison d'être* or no. Just as the Sanhedrim felt that national existence was more than national destiny when they said, " The Romans shall come and take away our place and nation " (St. John xi, 48), and took steps accordingly. In the end that is exactly what the Romans did do, and a like end will probably come from a like attitude of the National party in England, if it prevail. The chain of events might be somewhat as follows.

Supposing a Church to have formally taken a subservient attitude towards the nation,

¹ The difficulty of the attempt to keep the Christian *and* national character of the Church in England is well exemplified by the difficulty of upholding a Christian law of marriage and also " loyally accepting " Acts of Parliament. How can we treat those who marry within the forbidden decrees as not guilty of a definite offence against Christian fellowship and yet cold-shoulder them ?

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the nation must remain unconverted. Being unconverted it will have no scruple about taking the endowments when it really wants them. It may have no grudge against a complacent Church, but it will also see no point in its existence,¹ and if protest be made that such diversion is interfering with the benefactors' intentions the answer might be that a National Church on such lines does not represent the intentions of pre-Reformation benefactors—which would be quite true.

But there is one more point to be considered before progress can be made. Can a Bishop claim on the ground of his Apostolic office to lead such a Church or such a party without reference to Acts of Parliament and Courts which had brought legislature and judicial functions to a standstill? I think not. I think such men would be bound to say, "We are National Churchmen and the nation is

¹ I hold no brief for *Punch*, and I do not think its attitude to clergymen is always fair: but it is a fact that it from time to time exhibits the average clergyman as a very silly person, and therefore presumably the system for which he stands as a very silly system; and, if *Punch* is run on business lines, the inference is that a large proportion of *Mr. Punch's* customers agree with him. As I say, their judgment may be unjust, but the fact that such is their judgment must be reckoned with—from more than one point of view.

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our oracle. You come in another name and with other ideals. We cannot follow you." Moreover, such a Church or party, having abdicated its converting function, would not, even if led, draw "Evangelicals" into its train, and they are men who cannot be spared, for they have of the salt of the earth among them.

But I think that the Catholic party, which is a party only by force of regrettable circumstances, would promptly respond to such an offer of leadership. I think, too, that with all its faults and the faults of its members, the self-will and the "scornfulness of others" exhibited by some of the smaller spirits and noted by Dr. Gore, this party or movement is great, and I am certain that it would respond, for it has a great hunger for the one fold under One Shepherd, and it can do little to this end without Bishops, apart from whom its forces can be organized in no larger units than parishes. Further, as those who have this hunger have the mind of Christ, if led and organized they will become a great converting power, and so must inevitably draw the "Evangelicals" into line with them, as well as break down the antagonism of members of the National party who all (except perhaps a small residue) have points of positive

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contact with the Catholic temper and system, for none of them are consistent Nationalists : if they were they would not be Christians at all. So may the detestable party system end, and with time and patience and goodwill it will end, though, of course, not to-morrow.

But it is time to be practical. We have a great movement whose goal is the visible unity of the Church of Christ, a goal which cannot be reached without Episcopal, that is Apostolic leadership, because the one Apostolic or Episcopal college is the *nexus* or organ of unity, and reunion must be attained by the reconciliation of Bishops who at present do not hold communion with one another : but there is preliminary work to be done.

The first step is for the Bishops to win the confidence of those of whom they are naturally the leaders, so that they may follow "with a glad mind," and I would propose a step which would also be a beginning of the actual organisation of unity. I ask the Bishops to cease from asking men to be "loyal to the Church of England." It is a phrase which can be made consistent with the Catholic unity only when safeguarded by explanations, and it is so associated with Nationalism in the minds of the Catholic party that they

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detest it. I have heard a mutter of dissent run down the tables at an annual gathering at a theological college when a speaker at the dignitaries' table was sure that they were all "loyal to the Church of England." The only distinct words I heard in that murmur were "Provinces of Canterbury and York," which gives a clue to the ground for the objection.

The true loyalty of every Christian must be to Christ. Loyalty to the Church Catholic does not come second to this but is inherent in it, because salvation is social and we are all members one of another, and membership of Christ and the state of salvation and the station in life to which it shall please God to call us (a term which makes life a corporate thing) all mean the same thing. Again, if a Christian minister should be loyal to the Church of his ordination, priests ordained in the Church of England must be loyal to the Church of God, as that is explicitly the Church of their ordination.¹ Yet a proper loyalty

¹ "Receive the Holy Ghost for the Office and Work of a Priest *in the Church of God*, now committed unto thee by the imposition of our hands, etc." Also during his "examination" the candidate for the priesthood is asked, "Will you then give your faithful diligence always so to Minister the Doctrine and Sacraments, and the Discipline of *Christ*, etc." Not "the doctrine, sacraments and discipline of the Church of England."

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to or *esprit de corps* for his own local unit is a necessary consequence of every man's loyalty to Christ ; but the Church of England is not a unit, it is not even one group of units, but two. The unit is the Diocese, and the single Bishop of the Diocese in which a man is domiciled is the immediate representative to him of the whole Episcopate or Apostolic college of which Our Lord said, "He that receiveth you receiveth Me, etc." (Matt. x. 40). And this principle is consonant with Scripture, which does not use such an expression as "Church of England," to which such expressions as "Church of Asia," or "Church of Macedonia," would correspond : what Scripture says is the "Churches of Macedonia," and "The Seven Churches of Asia," to which the analogous expression would be, "The Thirty-six Churches of England."¹

¹ That being the number of dioceses in the Provinces of Canterbury and York. Dr. Gore seems to me to make a wrong analogy when he speaks of "The Angel of the Church of England : the true analogy is "The Angel of the Church of Canterbury," or of Birmingham. If, as is probable, the "angel" is the Bishop, there is no such person as the Angel of the Church of England. Wales and the Isle of Man must forgive me for merging them in England ! The significance of the phrase, "Churches of Macedonia and "Churches of Asia" is enhanced by the fact that they are used by different authors.

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Within the Church of Christ then the first duty of every Catholic is to his Diocese, after that on the one hand to his province, and on the other to his parish, and only indirectly to a collection of provinces such as is the Church of England. Such an understanding would certainly win the confidence of even the most extreme members of what must perforce be called the Catholic party, those that is who push their anti-sectarianism to the point of pedantry. And it would secure from them all that sensible men mean, all that the late Bishop of Ely meant, by "loyalty to the Church of England." For the Diocese is far too small a unit for *esprit de corps* to degenerate into partizan nationalism. A man could not make a sect of the Church of Ephesus; he might of a Church of Asia.

But this brings us to the fostering of the diocesan spirit as a practical step. It is often said that English dioceses are too large for this to be possible; we must first get them divided; there is a lion in the path! I answer that the late Bishop of Ely did win the confidence of the Catholic element in his diocese, and did succeed in creating a diocesan spirit in spite of the great size and absurd

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shape of his territory :¹ and if possible once it is possible again, and I shall confine my suggestions for practical steps to what can be done without any measures of constitutional reform ; for we are considering what a Bishop could do on his own initiative to organize and lead his unit during the present deadlock.

I have already suggested the way in which Bishops may win the confidence of their natural followers ; it is, however, also necessary that a leader should have confidence in his men. The Bishop Alwyne Compton had this confidence and showed it and declared it to the world, and that was why he accomplished so much. But I have a question to ask and a practical suggestion to offer. How many English Bishops know from personal experience the devotional life which is being built up in the parishes where the evangelical work of slum-ritualism is being done on the basis of much missionary work and of very frequent Eucharists, as many as three or four daily, so that shrift and housel, the benefit

¹ Which reaches nearly to Colchester, to Bletchley, and to the Wash. Some memoranda of Bishop Alwyne Compton's work will be found in a note at the end of the chapter. Page 209.

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of Absolution and the strengthening and refreshing of the soul by the Body and Blood of Christ, are, if we may use the phrase with reverence, to be had "on demand"? Do they not often know only that certain seemingly "extraordinary" things are being done, and that by report often of antagonistic or at least unsympathetic informants? Would it be impossible for a Bishop to go and see for himself the life of such a place by staying with the Vicar or in the clergy-house of some such parish outside his own diocese where he would be in no way responsible for what was done?¹ I offer this suggestion for what it is worth, only adding that the visit should cover at least two Sundays. Things might be seen which would jar, partly by being unfamiliar, and partly because everywhere there are tares with the wheat, but the guest would at least see for himself the life of such a place, and would, one hopes, see it whole, and could judge whether on the whole the thing is of God and makes for the righteousness of His Kingdom.

¹ It would of course be understood that by the law of hospitality the knowledge acquired would be treated as "under seal of confession" so far as the names of persons and places were concerned.

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Of the defects that would be observed, I think it probable that some at least would be due to the practical isolation from which up to the present such parishes suffer. The crucial questions seem to be : (1) How far does the practising member of a slum-ritualistic parish realize that his place in it is a place in the Catholic Church of Christ ? And (2) in so far as he fails to realize it, to what extent is the failure due to lack of realization of his place in the Diocese, which is the essential unit of the Church Catholic ? This may be in part due to the unwieldy size of our dioceses, but even this might be overcome by the summoning of the canonical Synod, that is, not a representative conference which passes resolutions which only affect the conduct of divine service or the housing of the people in Utopia, but the *totus clerus*, who, as the late Bishop Wordsworth insisted, are, by ancient Catholic tradition since the days of James and the Elders in Jerusalem, *ipso facto* the Senate¹ of the Diocese.

¹ Presbyter *means* Senator. It is for this reason objectionable that a select committee of senior clergy should be called a Synod or the Senate of a Diocese. Such bodies may be very useful, but they should be committees of the Synod, not substitutes for it.

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It seems obvious that such a Synod would help each parish priest to realize his place in the Diocese and his joint responsibility in its government and the determination of what it should do. It would take away from those clergy who are Catholic minded, by which I mean those who look outside their parishes and care for the larger unity of the Church, the self-will, or appearance of self-will, whose excuse is that it is only by a sort of passive resistance that they can assert their co-governorship in the Church, and that they are not the mere liturgical executants of other men's fiats. It would also wake up the "Evangelicals" to the fact that they have responsibilities outside their parishes in which they might take an interest, and thus they would be drawn into the movement of unity. Further, I am told by those who have been summoned to a true Synod that it has an indefinably spiritual atmosphere which lifts it altogether out of the reach of the diocesan barristers, and of lion and unicorn conceptions of the Church. Finally it gives the "extreme man" a hearing. I do not mean by this the extreme "ritualist," but men of extreme views on any question—elementary education for example, in which matter I understand

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the Bishop of Manchester to be a self-confessed extremist. No extreme man ever gets altogether his own way, except perhaps in some very abnormal emergency, but if he be not reckoned with (and how can he be reckoned with if he be not heard, for he best knows his own extremity¹?) he may by his subsequent resistance of the policy adopted, bring it to a deadlock, or his action may have even more dangerous consequences. The leading columns of the *Church Times* have, for example, pointed out how the Education Act of 1902, with the best intention in the world, has not secured peace because it reckoned without the extreme men. That is the fatal error of confining consultation to the moderate men of all parties.

It is going too far in practical proposals to suggest *Agenda* for Synods which are yet uncalled ; but I will still venture to suggest that a Synod could promote liturgical uniformity. I have laid considerable stress on the social import of the anti-sectarian movement and of liturgical arrangements. "The child

¹ Though he may not realize that it is "extreme." This book, for instance, shows what *I* think and feel. *I* think it very sane and moderate. But my readers may not agree with me. That, however, matters little if I can only set them sincerely a-thinking.

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and newcomer begin to learn their place in the Universe by taking their place in the Liturgical Assembly." For this reason, and because the diocese is the unit, I cannot believe unity in diversity to be a right ideal. Dr. Gore enunciates the idea in "The New Theology and the Old Religion" (Lecture viii). "Whenever," he says, "a cleric undertakes a cure, he promises in public prayers and administration of the Sacraments, to use only the services of the Prayer Book." This is so, but seems wrong. It is so obviously a Catholic principle that the services "of *the* Church, according to the use of the Church of X," should be used in the Province or Diocese of X, that it is a confession of weakness to ask a promise about it: Greeks and Romans don't make such a declaration. Either way, however, it is secured that the same form shall be rendered "intelligently and intelligibly in all churches." But still "they may be so interpreted as to admit of wide variety in the ceremonial exhibition of the services." They may indeed, and for the present it is a necessity that it should be so; but the necessity seems to me deplorable, for the rendering can be and is so different as to give the faces of entirely different religions, which must

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checkmate any movement to unity. The greatest of all diversities is that in one church the principal function of the Lord's Day may be the Lord's Service, and in another, choral Morning Prayer, and this greatest gulf may lie between two churches which, on the stupid estimate of mere details, are regarded as on "the same plane of ritual advance!" What really seems wanted is a uniformity in which the answers to the following questions should decide the issue. They are—

I. Should the Lord's Day be the day of a General Assembly for the Breaking of Bread in which the Gospel is read, the Word preached, notices of a disciplinary and social character given out, and so many as have prepared themselves are communicated? A scheme which exists on paper in the Order of Administration of the Lord's Supper in the Book of Common Prayer, and in actual fact in the parishes of Greek and Latin Christendom, as well as under *some* of the varieties of ceremonial exhibition of the Prayer Book Services.¹

¹ If so, a general movement in a Diocese for such an end would have weight enough to so change our traditional Sunday time table, that the dilemma of either no communicants, or communicants who are not fasting, could be avoided. This is the substance of an observation of Dr. Gore in "The Body of Christ."

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II. The report of the five Bishops to Convocation is to the effect that the Eucharistic vestments are valued by those who use them as uniting us with the general stream of Christian traditions in externals. This is a statement of fact and is the true reason. Is this union with the general stream of tradition desirable or no? That is to say, should English Church people be led by their liturgical arrangements to feel that their Church is part of the Body of Christ?

III. What of them that are from strange countries? The ministering of the Sacraments in an English church is not in a tongue understood of these people. If they come into our churches, how are they to know that they are joining in the same functions as they were used to in their own parish churches and Cathedrals at home, if not by the ceremonial? Is it desirable or not that they should feel at home when guests at our Altars? Are we and these strangers of one Church or no?

In regard to these last two questions, I suggest that Article XXXIV "Of the Traditions of the Church" has something relevant to say. A Particular National Church is limited in the making of ceremonial laws by two things: (1) Nothing must be ordained contrary

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to God's Word ; if it were, the validity of the Sacraments would be endangered ; and (2) all things are to be done to " edifying." Has edifying any corporate meaning ? Does not *œdificatio* connote a contribution to the walls of Jerusalem ? Does it help to the building of those walls that Christian organ-grinders from Italy should find the services in an unknown tongue and in a London Church¹ recognisable, or that they should be unrecognisable ?

If they should, it would be a sufficient uniformity for the Eucharist to have the place in Sunday worship that its rubrics imply, and that such of the Ornaments of the Church and of the ministers thereof of the second year of King Edward IV shall be restored to use as

¹ There is a church in the Italian organ-grinders' quarter in London, in which, as I am told, the Italians used to feel quite at home, though the services were strictly Prayer Book Services, for the Altar Book was such as is issued from the Clarendon & Pitt Presses. Do we realize enough that with one language not very dissonant from the vernacular and one ceremonial, Divine service is uniform for all Western Europe ? Which is a great advantage where travel from one country to another is easy. A Continental sees by his eye what is being done, where an Englishman listens for what is being said. The former must go by his eye when he comes to us.

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suffice to exhibit our share in the general stream of external traditions and make our services recognisable to foreign fellow-Christians who sojourn among us. Meticulous details could settle themselves automatically, and automatic settlements are permanent. A Synod need not, moreover, go beyond declaring this to be a desirable standard to which to work, and encourage the promotion of conformity to standard, not only by passing a resolution, but also by giving material help for the provision of ornaments. Such a resolution would disarm the objections of many who would otherwise be unwilling parishioners. Also the chasuble would cease to have even the appearance of a party badge.

Another point in the organisation of a diocese. Military discipline means that men take the share of the work set by their superiors; yet this form of discipline is very little attempted, judging by the number of clergy who advertise for situations in the papers and through registry offices, and from an incumbent saying he "keeps" a curate just as his wife says she "keeps" an under nurse. With the growth of diocesan life these advertisements ought to diminish.

Finally, the parochial efforts of the last

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seventy-five years must bring in one very valuable asset ; the result of a vast mass of experiments, some of which were wise and some foolish. The fees may have been high, but experience is a good school.

In spite, however, of much and varied effort, there is one great disappointment. " Even now we have won victories ; but they have proved barren," says Dr. Gore. " We stand far stronger on merely intellectual or apologetic ground than we stood thirty years ago. . . . We have practically won the victory of Catholic ceremonial. What is much more important, we have had great revivals of spiritual life. The idea of the Church, free and self-governing, with its great heritage of truths, human and divine—the truths of the Fatherhood of God, and the brotherhood of man—is awake and alive again. We understand again our great mission in the evangelization of the world. Above all, we have laboured very hard for the poor and among them. And yet—and yet—it all hangs fire. We have been with child, we have been in pain, we have, as it were, brought forth wind ! " ¹

¹ Sermon on " The Church and the Poor " in " The New Theology and the Old Religion."

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But can we expect to bring many in before the Diocese as the true unit of the Catholic Church comes out of a mere vegetative phase of existence into a life of active co-ordinated efficiency ?

Were the multitudes added to the Church before Pentecost ? Did Pentecost come before Our Lord had assigned to every disciple his place ? Have we not needed a great discipleship and the accumulation of much experience before the work can go forward ?

But there are two hopeful factors for the time to come when we are to go out into streets and lanes and highways and hedges, and to join ourselves to the chariots of those in authority, and to bring them all in to find places in a common Assembly for the hearing of the Word and the Breaking of the Bread. Mr. Brougham Villiers notes¹ a peculiar attitude in the average Englishman towards religion. "He lives his own virtually Pagan life, paying no attention whatever to Christianity, until someone tells him that a new movement is anti-Christian. Then he permits the devotees . . . to persuade him that he is shocked." The truth is that he *is*

¹ In his "Socialist Movement in England." With his ground for noticing the fact, we have nothing to do.

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more or less shocked, because he has latent or potential faith, for "he is unwilling . . . to reject the accepted creed of the day," and he has as a matter of fact, carried a priest on his back wherever he has gone. He may laugh at the priest for a silly fellow, but he will not leave him behind. And some day he will hear with his ears and be converted and live.

The other is a fragment from Father Dolling, quoted in *Pax*, which runs:—"The natural reaction against Puritanism in the English Church took the form of a Catholic Revival, which has, no doubt, largely influenced the upper classes and certain little circles in which the preachers of it have been zealous and self-sacrificing men, but the great masses are practically untouched by it." In which the importance lies not in those whom the movement has failed to touch, but in those whom it has touched, the old "upper classes,"¹ and the "certain little circles," mostly in the slums. The present call is for men, and the movement is a-foot to tap new

¹ By no means to be confused with "the rich." Very many of them are quite poor "Service" families; some have estates and sacrifice themselves without stint to keep them together; all of them can take roughing it as a matter of course, and none of them know how to *grow* rich.

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sources, and to really teach the Church's cadets their business. The "little circles" are all new sources, and the old source of the old "upper classes," from which came most of the men, including Dolling himself, who collected the "little circles," are still with us. These two social classes show a marvellous capacity for getting on together where they are brought into real living personal contact. And there is the average Englishman with his latent faith for them to go to.

There are also the children and newcomers who are to find their places in the assembly *and in the diocese* as the local unit of a Church as wide as the Universe. The machinery is ready for bringing them in in the business of catechising, and in the Churches' schools: though the schools might do much more if it were a question not so much of what the children are taught and whether the teacher believes it, for this is the lower, sectarian, doctrinal test, as the question from whom does the teacher come, for that is a Catholic or status test; the Bishop is the holder and dispenser of the Apostolic commission to teach. That a child should be taught about Christ is good, that his teaching should come from Christ is better.

But we already teach many children, yet

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few persevere. There may be many reasons for this, but one, I am sure, is that they are confirmed at the wrong age. From fourteen to sixteen is a time of great physical stress for both sexes, and they are then markedly unimpressionable : responsible childhood is the age of interest in the Universe and even of metaphysical speculation, and it is then that a child is intent on taking his bearings and finding his place, and he is then in need of Holy Communion. By fourteen the stress begins, and after sixteen comes work. By that time the Sacraments should be a known and tried support.

In an earlier chapter I have drawn attention to the fact, as significant for the part which the Anglican Communion has to play in the world for God, that everywhere it is flanked by Romanism¹ and Nonconformity. Both stand for the Puritan spirit, from which the

¹ It is necessary to realize clearly the fundamental difference between a French Catholic and an English Romanist. The former is a member of the Church of France, to which he belongs by Baptism and domicile ; he submits to a supremacy of the Holy See because his Church submits to it. The English Romanist holds aloof from the Church of England, to which he belongs by Baptism and domicile, because he gives his allegiance to the Holy See. The former is attached to the Papacy by sub-infeudation ; the latter is a direct personal vassal.

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Church in England is preserved by her weak points, but which will become more of a danger as she grows stronger.

We have set before us the ideal of a united and perfectly ordered Kingdom of God. This ideal has, however, never been realized, and we have need of patience, and such tolerance as is essential thereto. Puritanism is essentially impatience with the fact of the Kingdom's shortcomings.

Nonconformist Puritanism was impatient with the fact that the Church contained those who fell short of true Godliness: as were the Montanists, Novatians and Donatists, all of whom were exclusive. Romanism is a Puritanism of order: an order in which every man has his certain place by his communion with the Sovereign Vicar, which is an unbreakable order. It is analogous to a plate with the letter P on it which is unbreakable because when broken the fragment with P on it is the plate. This indefectibility also is attained by exclusion, it is the Puritan spirit of Diotrephes, "*qui amat primatum gerere*" (iii S. John v. 9). To revert to the military analogy, an ideal barrack is perfectly tidy and the soldiers' kit clean, but a real barrack must be in rather a muddle when it takes

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in a new batch of recruits. Moreover the army is inclusive, the recruit has the status of a soldier the moment he is a tatterdemalion with the King's shilling in his pocket, dirty and without the vaguest idea of tidiness: the training comes afterwards. The Church on earth, which is the recruiting area of the Kingdom of Heaven, has the same inclusive method and must patiently endure analogous discomforts.

But being inclusive, the Church must try and include Puritans of both kinds.

It is no use trying to persuade the Non-conformist to come in on his own hypothesis, that is through acceptance of doctrine. The doctrine involves that of priesthood, which from his standpoint of individualism, means men endowed with a magic denied to his ministers, and the idea is repellant, as it suggests an arrogant exclusiveness on the part of the Church. What is wanted is the realization of the status test, and that he is invited to take up a place which is already his by Baptism.

The Romanist is different ; he understands the status test, but does not know that we do. I believe one of the Elizabethan Bishops in Ireland treated all Roman priests as *his*

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disobedient clergy, and claimed their obedience ; it is the right course, and unwavering persistence might lead to some success. Were diocesan Synods revived, the Romanist clergy, who are in the diocese and are therefore part of the *totus clerus*, should be summoned : obedience to the summons would purge their schism and disobedience. On the same ground their names might be found in the calendar of the true diocese in which they reside. One thing is plainly irrelevant, and that is discussion of doctrinal issues on their merits, for no distinctively Roman dogma is *de fide* on its merits, but only by fiat of him who "*primatum amat gerere.*" The merits of that claim are *the* issue.

All our work is to bring men in to go through their proper motions in a set assembly, focussed in the ceremonial Breaking of Bread. A lame, trivial, ritualistic conclusion ? Yes, in a way, I suppose it is. But so long as men associate only through their bodies, bodily motion must be a constituent of, and must profoundly affect, all social relationship. It may be a great help to the setting free of the wages of the poor that are kept back by fraud, and saving the little patrimonies of the fatherless and widows and other

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petty capitalists from the grasp of the stock-jobber ; also to setting the captains of industry, whose profits are derived from employing capital and not from juggling with it, free to conduct their business in a more liberal manner. It may also teach King Demos some lessons, among others that the home of its natural progenitors with all its defects offers better nurture to a child than the most carefully proportioned and tested nutriment injected into its stomach by municipal machinery. Puritanism is as great a fallacy in hygiene as in religion. Ordered bodily motion is moreover drill, but the Christian assembly is something more, for in it we already have a place in the Universe whose constitution is the Fatherhood of God and the brotherhood of man, focussed in the Lamb "standing as it had been slain."

The Anglican Communion has a great mission to the whole world, dependent on her repudiation of universality. This tide in the affairs of men must be taken boldly at the flood. We are forewarned of the tide.

NOTE A ON THE SOCIAL ASPECT OF SACRAMENTAL CONFESSION

This, like all other ordinances, has its true import in the fraternal character of Christ's Church. It is

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not true to say that such Confession is addressed mediately to God alone : this ignores the Incarnation. Sin is against the community focussed in Christ, and confession is to the community, and especially to Christ as Incarnate and the priest as His representative. Moreover, though the details of the confession are under seal, the fact of confession, the Church being an open place, is of public knowledge, and so therefore is the fact of sin.

A casual expression of disgust that any should communicate unshrift once expressed by a young French layman has helped me to realize what "compulsory" confession really means in the Roman Communion : it means that the social sense of the congregation demands it as part of the social relationship of the Catholic Church.

NOTE B ON THE CHURCH'S MISSION TO CHILDREN

Much is heard in these days of the religious education of children, and the rights of parents. I have also suggested doubts about the average age at which Confirmation is now administered. On the first head we ought to keep quite clear in our minds that all authority is of God. Also that authority to teach in things spiritual belongs to the Apostolic Commission, and not to either of the other two supreme authorities, the State and the parent. The Bishop, therefore, and no other person, is sent to little children to teach them, either himself or by deputy. The Christian parent begins to teach his child by

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Church authority because the child's Baptism is the Church's recognition that its home is Christian. How then can we maintain the rights of parents ?

The State has no commission to teach " the fourth R," and therefore no right to interfere with the natural power and opportunity of parents to influence their children's belief : the State must give this power *free play*. Now we also claim that the State must show equal treatment to all and therefore cannot ask it to respect the natural power of parents without doing so equally to all. But our object is to secure liberty to Christian parents to send their children to the Church at the time appointed, obediently to hear and be ordered by the Curate, who shall diligently in the Church instruct and examine them in some part of the Catechism.

Were a child who had come to years of discretion, say nine, to apply for Christian ministrations in the teeth of its parents' wish, we should do our best to test its *bona fides*, and such a case would be very rare, but the child is God's, and parents have no inherent right to isolate their child from God, and therefore its application could not be refused.

But upon Catechism follows Confirmation, which the rubric says is to be, the child being sufficiently instructed, when it comes to years of discretion to know right from wrong : discretion begins usually about seven years old. Thence onward childhood continues till puberty, which comes between fourteen and sixteen. What reason can be assigned for transferring Confirmation from the beginning to the end of childhood ? It is said that it is not old enough ; but why ? Professors of loyalty to the

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Prayer Book must maintain that it is old enough if they are to live up to their professions, and it is doubtful whether the objection really means anything, except that they are not old enough to avoid disturbing their elders by fidgeting.

On the other side. A child's brain is fully developed at seven years old ; after that time it does nothing but grow, and the child can expend its whole energy in learning and taking its bearings in life. At puberty a new thing happens, the full development of sex, and the beginning of new temptations. It is often said that this is a time for "making an impression" ; and candidates are even told that it is the most impressionable age in life. As a matter of fact it is the least so, for puberty is a heavy tax on the resources of the body, and much diminishes mental activities.¹ It should follow from this that the impression made by being brought into the full communion of the Church should, if effected at this age, make very little mark, and the evidence is that it does so. In the stress of the drain of development and the temptation of new powers, what is wanted is not a new impression, but an old and tried support, for old habits can live where new ones cannot be acquired. And, moreover, the child in its period of mental activity needs Grace.

This is not pure theory. I speak also from observation and self-knowledge. I was Confirmed somewhat younger than is usual, and was brought up in an environment in which dependence on Sacramental Grace was an axiom of life. I also owe it to being

¹ Bodily debility is a principal cause of insanity.

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in touch with Cathedral life at this age that I realized the continuity of the Church in England, and from the bidding prayer that Christ's Holy Catholic Church was to be prayed for, especially the reformed branch of it, established in this land. I am now quoting the words of the bidding prayer at Hereford from my memory of those days. Thus I learnt my place in the Christian assembly before puberty.

NOTE C ON THE EPISCOPATE OF THE LATE LORD ALWYNE COMPTON, D.D.

Several allusions have been made to the late Lord Bishop of Ely, and his work, of which it seems a grievous pity that there should be no permanent record.

I have specially alluded to his Episcopate as one which did a great deal to foster the diocesan spirit, in spite of geographical difficulties: it also seems to me to have afforded an example of the application of the principles of military discipline to matters ecclesiastical. He won the absolute confidence of subordinates, and he exercised a discipline of command rather than of restraint and assumed that duty would be done without fear of consequences. He openly acknowledged the right of the Catholic Revival and led the movement. But he was not a party man, and it seemed obvious to him that what the Church did and taught was above and outside party. He had a clear conception of what was just, never confused authority with personal preference, and never did an ungentlemanlike thing in the name of religion. He saw clearly that

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circumstances might arise in which disobedience would be a duty, but that such a course could not be right without grave searchings of heart. But did one thus gravely feel it a duty to disobey, it is certain that he would have forfeited neither the Bishop's respect nor his blessing. His action was diametrically opposed to that Puritan spirit of exclusiveness which, in the centre party, manifests itself at least in the appearance of a desire to isolate so-called "extreme" men: on the contrary, by a Catholic inclusiveness, he found them a place in the living unity of his diocese. *How* he did it it is difficult to say, but it is probable that his gift of humour was of the quality which instantly distinguishes essentials from accidents, and in which the latter, if at all out of proportion, have small chance of survival.

That he had a clear conviction of the relations between Church and State is shown by what he said in a visitation charge on the marriage laws. Should the State allow marriage with the deceased wife's sister, it would be the duty of the priest to refuse to solemnize such marriages, and should the State attempt compulsion he must refuse, and, if necessary, go to prison. With him the term "loyalty to the Church of England" had no objectionable meaning.

He was not an eloquent preacher nor a systematic reformer, but an old-fashioned country clergyman who accepted what the Church taught because the Church taught it. He won confidence by his transparent honesty and a blunt kindness which is the best courtesy, and by a gift of humour of an

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irreproducible quality very like that of the late Miss Jane Evans of Eton ; in fact he had very much the same qualities of greatness. He always warned candidates for the Priesthood that they were bound to hear confessions on demand. His loyalty to and confidence in his subordinates are well shown in his letters to the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Disorders, which also preserve something of his humour and of his estimate of the meticulous details of legalism.

The letters are too long to be given in their entirety, and as the object is to show the spirit of the late Bishop's rule, and the same subject matter is gone over more than once in the course of the correspondence, it is sufficient to give extracts from the Blue Book (1906) containing the evidence laid before the Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline. [Names are omitted.]

“ THE PALACE, ELY.

[dated]

“ SIR,—I beg to acknowledge the receipt of evidence received by the Commissioners relative to the following churches in my diocese : The Cathedral Church ”—(*here follow other names*).

“ Before referring to these reports in any detail, I may state that I do not consider it my duty to inquire into minute points of the manner of performing the services, which are in themselves of no importance whatever. I am, of course, aware that they are objected to by some persons because they are supposed to show that the clergy who practise them are unsound members of the Church of

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England, or, to express it more briefly, hold Romish doctrine. Except for this reason no one would suppose it mattered what was the exact shape of the clothes worn, or the exact posture in which a clergyman said his prayers before celebrating the Holy Communion. But the doctrine which is really attacked through these minutiae, the doctrine of the 'real presence' is one that may be legally held by clergy and laity in the Church of England as was judicially determined by the Final Court of Appeal in the Bennet case, and I cannot approve of the attacks made by unauthorized persons on hard-working clergy of most devoted lives, and of perfect loyalty to the Church of England. If those to whom the law gives authority—for example, parishioners—choose to raise the question of the legality of trifles in the courts of law they are perfectly entitled to do so, and I can only regret that time and money should be wasted which would be better spent in deepening the spiritual life of all concerned.

“ I now turn to particular complaints. As regards the festival service of the Ely Theological College at which I was celebrant, I am not aware of any point, however small or unimportant, in which it could be by anyone considered illegal. For I do not suppose that a procession before the office of Holy Communion begins is illegal, or that it matters whether a Psalm is sung or whether a cross and banners are carried during such procession, or whether a young clergyman wears an alb, or whether the bishops wear copes and have their mitres carried before them.

* * * *

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“ I am sorry to trouble the Commissioners with these details ; but I presume they sent to me, as the person officiating, the report, with the intention of my making remarks upon it.

“ *St. X——’s, Y——.*

“ I do not understand what there is in this statement of any ‘ breach or neglect of the law relating to the conduct of Divine Service in the Church of England and to the ornaments and fittings of the same.’ I myself object to the use of the word ‘ mass,’ but it is an English word and not illegal—confession certainly is legal, and there can be no objection to fixing hours for its reception. Nor is it illegal in any way for children to be present at any service ; nor does there appear to be in the book called ‘ Hosanna ’ anything illegal, if indeed the instructions to the Commissioners give them any authority to examine printed books.”

* * * * *

(In another letter.)

“ As regards *Saint Q——’s* . . . as regards celebrations with no communicants. . . . He admits that he disobeys the rubric . . . , but pleads that he obeys its spirit, *i.e.*, encourages communicants, and that many other rubrics are similarly treated. All persons who intend to communicate will not give their names, and he cannot tell that no one will come to the Holy Table, and he cannot stop in the middle of the service.

“ As regards A. I wrote to Mr. Z. to inquire how far the statement of your informant was true.

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Mr. Z. in his reply to me points out that these statements are, in the opinion of your informant, criminal charges, and therefore, though he cannot himself consider them such, yet he declines to reply to my question, as it might amount to his incriminating himself, which, as he truly says, no accused person is bound to do.

“ I cannot, therefore, remark upon this case, for I am not prepared to accept the statements of these irresponsible and unsworn witnesses, most of them obviously ignorant men, as certainly true.

“ As regards O. . . . He admits that water was placed in the chalice at the offertory. This I suppose is what, in the Lincoln Judgment, was forbidden as a ceremonial act. I do not myself see how it is a more ceremonial act than pouring the wine into the chalice : a common custom, I believe, because, until the vergers or other collectors of alms bring their collection to the altar, the ministering priest cannot judge how much bread and wine he should place upon the table. . . .

* * * * *

“ *T— Church.*

“ . . . The bell rung¹ is the ordinary church bell in the tower of the church. The communicants (sixty in a population of 155) asked for the bell to be rung—and its sound cheers many a sick bed. I am not acquainted with the book, ‘ With Jesus . . . ’ ; but prayers for the dead, though omitted from the public services of the Church, have been

¹ Presumably at the Consecration in the Eucharist.

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legally held lawful, and 'teaching closely resembling transubstantiation' has been so considered by the Final Court of Appeal.

"I remain,

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) ALWYNE ELY.

"*To the Secretary.*"

(*In another letter.*)

* * * * *

"If any duly qualified person should choose to bring an action in the Ecclesiastical Court or otherwise in due course of law against any clergyman who used these vestments, I should let the case proceed, and I think it not at all unlikely that the decision hitherto arrived at in the courts might be reversed.

* * * * *

"I do not know that I need ask the Commissioners to see me.

"Your obedient servant,

"(Signed) ALWYNE ELY.

"*The Secretary,*

The Royal Commission on Ecclesiastical Discipline."

I believe the Commissioners did not ask to see his Lordship, whose letters to them, when his life comes to be written, should be printed in full.

THE END.

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